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Jubilee Souvenir



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1851

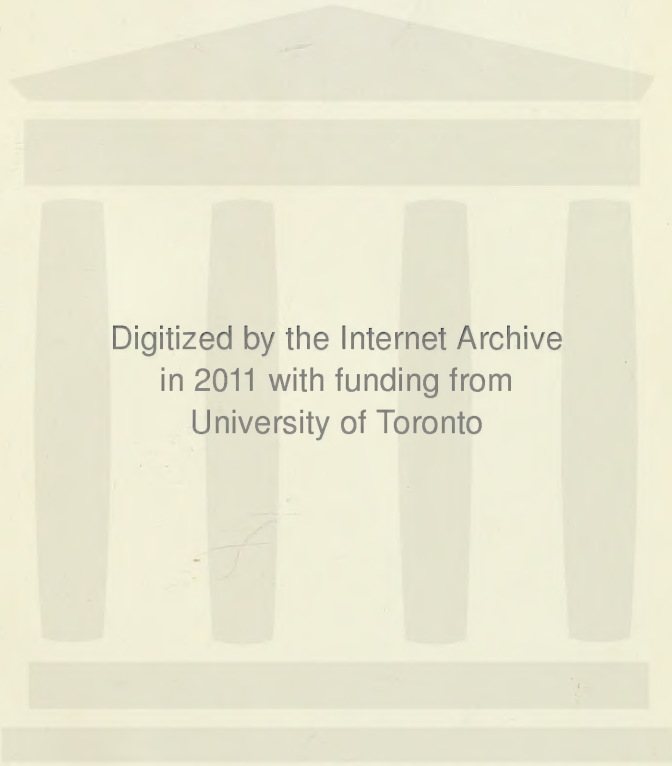


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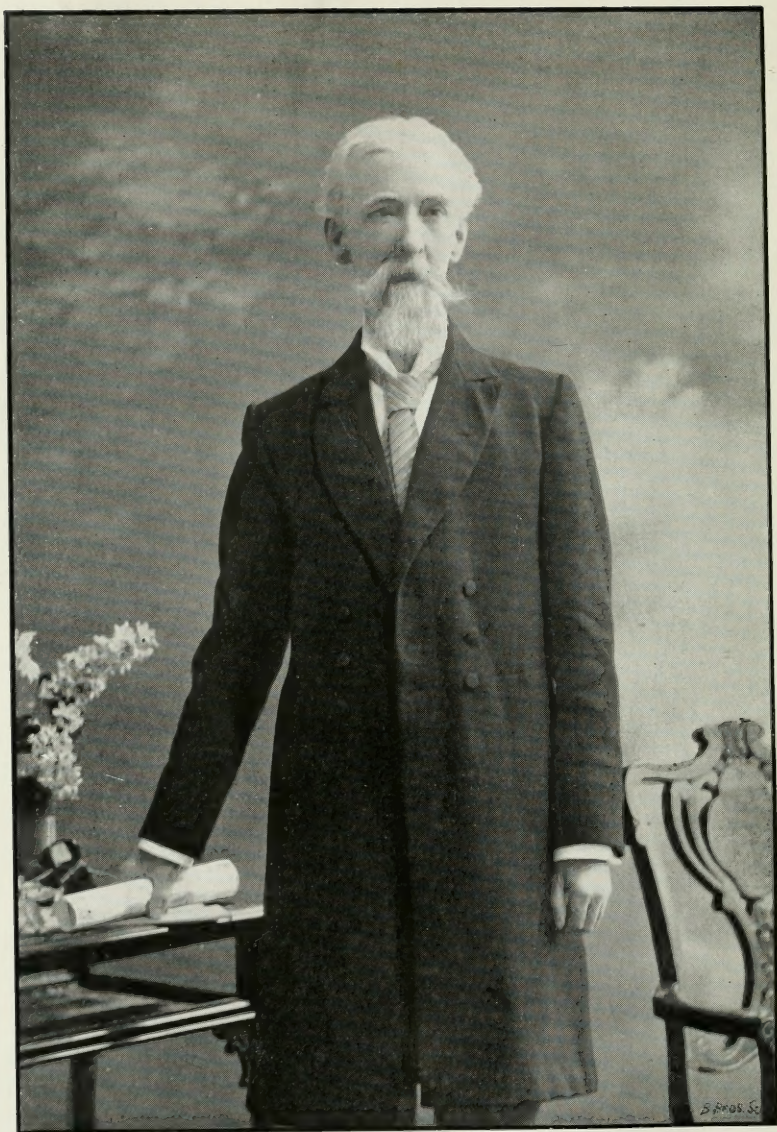


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Yours very sincerely,
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THE HISTORY

OF THE

Halifax Industrial Society,

LIMITED,

FOR FIFTY YEARS.



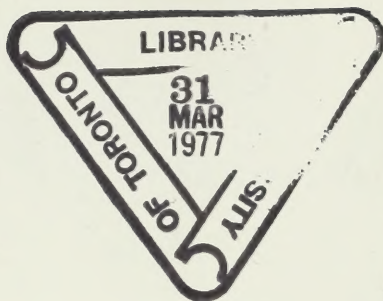
TO COMMEMORATE THE

CELEBRATION OF ITS JUBILEE

In January, 1901.



BY MONTAGUE BLATCHFORD,



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1901

HALIFAX:

WOMERSLEY, EXCHANGE PRINTING WORKS, ROEBUCK YARD

P R E F A C E .

ALTHOUGH this little history has occupied four-fifths of my working hours since midsummer, and I have had the willing assistance of Mr. Edmund Wood, the president of the Society; Mr Handel Tetlaw, the secretary; and Messrs. James Parker, E. Gaukroger, Jas. Haigh, W. Thompson, and T. Illingworth, the other members of the history committee; of Messrs. John Shillito, Joseph Thorpe, John Shaw, and many other old officials, not forgetting the voluminous recollections of Mr. Leonard Storey; I am not entirely satisfied, even now, that justice has been done to the subject. For fifty years is a long time, and when I mention that the ninety-nine half-yearly balance sheets alone could hardly be squeezed into eight volumes, each the size of this, you will see at once what has been the main difficulty: that of deciding what could best be left out.

My entire ignorance of the history of the Society, and of almost all the men who have made that history, is not such a drawback as some might suppose, as it not only compelled me to learn the history for myself, but enabled me to do so without that bias or prejudice which a writer with a personal interest in the subject might have been tempted to display. Knowing nothing of the subject, I have had to rely upon the written records available, and have, for nearly six months, literally wallowed in minute books, ledgers, deeds, old letters, balance sheets, and newspaper reports, aided by the recollections of the old members who have been so willing to assist; and I have not admitted anything that, in my judgment, the written records of the Society fail to support.

My instructions were to present, as far as possible, a chatty history, in narrative form, and those instructions I have done my best to carry out. Being also limited as to space, I have endeavoured to give the essence of the history, rather than a complete and detailed record of mere facts, names, and figures, which

I fear would have made but dreary reading even to enthusiastic co-operators. Consequently there are no names mentioned that the facts did not call for, and, though there are very few figures, I believe none have been omitted that are necessary to a clear understanding of the great financial fluctuations the Society has experienced.

It would have been easily possible to fill the space with personal reminiscences of the hundreds of men who have played active parts, in official positions, for longer or shorter periods; but this is the history of the Society, rather than of its prominent members. And though there are probably scarcely more than a score of men who have cut their names deep on the Board Room table, in the past fifty years; a list of the presidents, secretaries, and directors for the greater part of that period, will be found at the end of the book, by those who take an interest in details.

I cannot conclude these personal remarks without thanking the jubilee committee for the compliment they paid me in placing this commission in the hands of such a wild, visionary, revolutionary person as I am—I hope erroneously—supposed to be. Had I written this book on my own responsibility, it might have contained some expressions of opinion that under the present circumstances are better omitted; for while the committee have given me almost complete freedom, I have felt that the members of the Society would hold them responsible for the views expressed, and have endeavoured to tell all the truth without offending even the prejudices of the comparatively few people who see offence where none is intended. And, though I am conscious the task might have been better done, I have at least tried to be honest and helpful; for if I must confess to having commenced the task with a feeling of indifference, I conclude it with one of sympathy and respect for the men who have, by patience and industry, achieved so much; and will, in the coming century, achieve so much more.

M. BLATCHFORD.

Halifax, November, 1900.

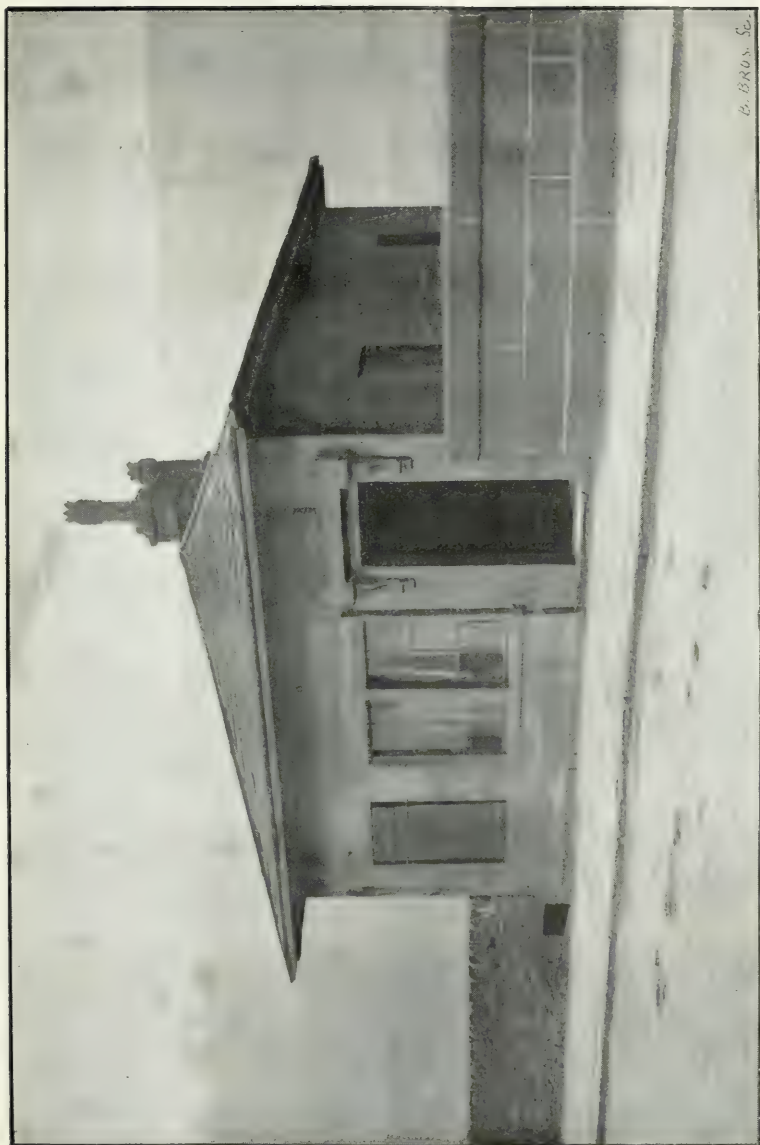
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OLD BAR HOUSE, NORTH DEAN.

C. BRUN. Sc.



Halifax and its History.

CHAPTER I.

HALIFAX is not only one of the most thriving of the manufacturing towns of the West Riding, but also, from its situation, one of the healthiest and most picturesque in the Northern district. It is not a very ancient town, nor has it much to boast of in the way of striking historical associations; having grown slowly and quietly from a cluster of houses, round its old Parish Church—situated at the foot of what was, in the memory of men still living, a green and well-wooded hill—until it has spread, through the industry of its inhabitants, over the hills to the North, South, and West, in a network of very steep and rather narrow streets, punctuated with towers, steeples, and innumerable factory chimneys. The good old town, as its inhabitants, without any particular reason, persist in calling it, owes its picturesqueness to the hills it is built on, for it is an exceedingly hilly town, and indeed, some authorities contend that its very name denotes that it is the home of the “hilly folks,” in which they are no doubt as near the truth as the other authorities who maintain that this contention is sheer nonsense.

It could not be seriously said that Halifax, or indeed any manufacturing town, is, or could be pretty, though there are times—as on a sunny day, when the atmosphere has been washed by heavy rain, or on a clear dark night, when a thousand lamps are twinkling on the hillsides—when Halifax has a picturesque charm, compared with which, most of the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, and even Yorkshire, look dismal beyond description.

The Halifax of to-day is a vastly different place from the Halifax of a hundred years ago, for what was in those days its extreme Western edge, is now in the centre of the town. Even one generation has seen vast alterations in its architectural features, whole streets having been swept away, and their old, quaint but inconvenient buildings replaced by others more adapted for modern commercial pursuits; while the old, dark,

narrow streets have been considerably increased in width, though they might have been made still wider, with advantage. And though it is not all it might be, yet, in character, architecture, and convenience, Halifax will bear favourable comparison with any town of its class in the two counties; for its streets are fairly wide and moderately straight, its buildings, all of stone, are convenient and substantial, while some of them—as the new markets, and the new bank, in Commercial Street—are actually handsome.

And so what were the rural suburbs of the old town, are now the centre of the new one; while the old town, in the precincts of the Parish Church, has been gradually overtaken by shabbiness and decay. And thus, whatever Halifax may be on a closer acquaintance, to the stranger who approaches it by railway, through the old Halifax of bye-gone days, it presents a picture of gaunt forbidding ugliness, that is calculated to appal the boldest. On the one hand, the stranger sees an ugly jumble of grimy unhandsome dyeworks, coal yards, and wool warehouses, huddled along the banks of an unpleasant sewer-like “beck” or stream. On the other, the gaunt cinder strewn Beacon Hill rises, steep, featureless, and forbidding, with a few rows of dingy cottages and untidy hen-houses clinging to its bare sides and perched on its steep shoulders, looking down on the dun-coloured canal that creeps round the scarlet gasometers at its dirty foot; the drear despiriting picture being surmounted by a writhing cloud of dark brown smoke, the principal contribution of commercial prosperity to the pictorial effect.

And though this is a truthful sketch, and cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called a prepossessing one, most visitors, when they improve their acquaintance with the town, admit that it betters their anticipations, and has, like the people who made it and live in it, many good qualities and picturesque characteristics, that do much to efface their first impressions. These visitors may sometimes complain that our Town Hall is over-decorated, and too carefully concealed from observation; that our one fine bridge has no water under it; may complain of the dense factory smoke that hovers over us, in spite of nuisance inspectors, and penal bye-laws that are somehow seldom invoked; may hint that we have a more than ample supply of publichouses, but no good hotels; may profess to be amused because we have built a magnificent municipal market for the sale of trivial articles; and may laughingly assert that we have an elaborate coat of arms, as to the origin or significance of which no two authorities were ever known to agree, but which almost everyone admits to be utterly inappropriate. Yet in spite of all these

critical remarks by jocular visitors, they are bound to admit, on a closer acquaintance, that Halifax is a good place to trade in, and not by any means a bad one to live in; and more than that it would be unreasonable to expect of anyone who does not view our town through the glamour of old association. And now for a brief and not too serious sketch of the Halifax of bye-gone times, which is respectfully offered to the readers as a semi-jocular presentiment of historical facts, which are, at best of doubtful authenticity.

Halifax has little in the way of historical associations, and is only known to the outside world by its old harsh and repulsive gibbet laws, and a ribald verse which couples it with Hull and the nether regions, as a place the sinner prays to be delivered from. As to its name there are many conjectures, none of which are satisfactory. Camden, the antiquary, who was in this neighbourhood in the sixteenth century, refers to Halifax as a very famous town, but neglects to mention what it was famous for, and admits that its name "is of no great antiquity." It appears to have been inhabited, in very early times, probably by ignorant savages who didn't know any better, for it is said that earth mounds and stone implements have been discovered on the moorlands of the neighbourhood; explorations of which have brought to light some burial urns containing burnt human remains, that may, or may not, be relics of a primitive cookery. The owners of these baked fragments are supposed to have been sun worshippers from the far east. It is also said that they had no temples, but worshipped the rising sun from the hill tops, though it is impossible to burk the fact that a locality where the sun is often invisible for weeks together, was peculiarly unsuitable for the exercise of those religious duties.

The Romans appear also to have passed through this locality, but only on their way to other places, not, it appears, being impressed with its desirability as a place of residence. Roman coins have been discovered in some parts of the Parish, and there are remains which indicate that the iron stone was worked and smelted by the Romans, no doubt on account of the plentiful supply of dwarf oaks on the hillsides, which made admirable fuel. It is also supposed that a Roman road, like the men who made it, passed through Halifax; but no vestiges of it are now discoverable. There is evidence however that the Anglo Saxons settled in the valley of the Calder, but allowances should be made for them, as they may have been compelled by circumstances to do so. And as the greater portion of the Parish was included, at that time, in the forest of Hardwick, where the

wolves and bears were said to have been fierce and plentiful, our Anglo Saxon ancestors must have had a rather anxious time of it. This may indeed have been the reason the Romans, in earlier days, only passed through Halifax without stopping; and why the Danish pirates only paid flying visits for the purpose of robbing the Saxons, and at once went away again. The common language of the people is evidence that in this neighbourhood they are mainly of Saxon descent, though Danish characteristics are common in the eastern part of the county.

The Norman invasion seems to have had little permanent effect on Halifax, though a large portion of the Parish is said to have been given to one of William's followers called Warren, while Elland and Southowram fell into the hands of another of the Norman freebooters, whose name was Lacy. It is also claimed that Christianity was imported into these parts at an early date, but could not have made a very deep impression on the Yorkshire character, and did not appeal so forcibly to the popular taste, as that bloody institution, the Gibbet, which had afforded them a fearful joy from time immemorial. By a law made, and possibly needed for this locality, the purloiners of property valued at thirteen pence, could be, and frequently were, decapitated, as a warning to other evil doers, and an exciting entertainment for the respectable people, whose misdeeds had perhaps escaped detection.

The people of Halifax do not appear to have done anything remarkable either in peace or war, though in the civil conflict that made Oliver Cromwell, the brewer of Huntingdon, into a famous general, and practically King of England, Halifax men took part, and on both sides; and unimportant battles were fought in the neighbourhood. Amongst the local heroes of this war, were Captain Sutcliffe, of Todmorden, who fell at Naseby; Captain Sunderland, whose father built that fine old mansion, High Sunderland, afterwards used as a farm by the Co-operative Society; and Captain Hodgson, of Coley Hall. The town was so unimportant that it is not even claimed that Cromwell found it worth his while to bombard it, or its Parish Church, from the Beacon Hill; or that, like the Romans, he ever passed through Halifax or even wanted to.

But if Cromwell was thus a stranger to Halifax, it is generally believed that Robin Hood was not, as he hunted a good deal in the vicinity, dwelt in caves that are still extant and must have been rather uncomfortable in bad weather, and actually died and was buried at Kirkstall Abbey, as well as in several other places in different parts of the country. Whether Robin Hood came

into this neighbourhood in pursuit of the wolves and bears, to search for Roman coins, or to escape the too solicitous attentions of the Sheriff of Nottingham, cannot now be stated with any confidence. But it certainly seems strange that he should have put up with the third-class accommodation of a little abbey like Kirklees, when the superior attractiveness of Bolton Abbey and Fountains Abbey were available within easy distance.

There is no doubt that the Parliamentary, and not the Royalist party, had most supporters in this district; but Crabtree, a high old Tory historian, is of opinion that there is every reason to believe, from the best informed authorities, that it was with feelings of joy and satisfaction the majority of the men of Halifax hailed the restoration of Charles II to the throne of his ancestors, as an "unspeakable mercy." Whether Crabtree considered this mercy an "unspeakable" one for the reason that nobody was heard to speak of it, can only be guessed at, and is hardly worth even that trouble. To the said unspeakable mercy he is of opinion we owe the introduction of Nonconformity into this district, an accidental blessing for which we are still moderately grateful. A little later, that is to say at the next rebellion in 1745, Halifax, on the authority of Mr. Crabtree, manifested most unequivocal proofs of loyalty to the House of Hanover; and the sums paid for ale for the troops who passed through Halifax, and to the bell ringers for their services after the battle of Culloden, formed no inconsiderable item in the Parish accounts of that period. The first local paper was published in Halifax in 1759. It was called *The Union Journal and Halifax Advertiser*. This was embellished with an allegorical picture of Britannia, surrounded by a cage from which three birds have just escaped, emblematic of liberty; a swarm of bees round a hive, emblematic of industry; and a chubby person of indeterminate sex, apparently emblematic of nothing in particular; the whole surrounded by the legend, "Britannia loves freedom," an assertion which, in those days at any rate, was not remarkable for its truth.

Crabtree assures us that the first number of this "influential organ" contained only one item of local news, which, singularly enough, was an account of a wager about the time a mare would take to draw a load from Blackstone Edge to Halifax; from which it appears the desire to bet, and an interest in horses, were thus early traits in the local character. There is little in the way of history to be gleaned for some years after this, except that a desperate gang of coiners were discovered on Turvin Moor. Several of these desperate ruffians were comfortably hung, but



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HALIFAX_TOWN HALL.

the head miscreant, one David Greenwood, of Hill Top, unfortunately died in York Castle before the sentence could be carried into effect: the population being thus deprived of one of its principal open-air entertainments.

Coming down to the present century, which commenced with very bad harvests, we find much distress in this Parish, and the poor, who generally lived on oatmeal, when they could get it, were reduced to beans and turnips, and even potato parings. Oatmeal was at an enormous price, and work was very scarce. Subscriptions were raised, and a Royal Proclamation issued, recommending economy in the use of grain in private families; which mark of Royal solicitude was no doubt of great comfort and advantage to those who had no grain to economise.

A little later, that is, after the close of the Napoleonic wars, poverty was again severely felt, but as Crabtree, who really seems to have been a delightful old gentleman, reports "With the exception of seditious meetings, at which the lowest and basest of the people were encouraged, by men a little higher than themselves, to lift their hands against the constituted authorities, no circumstance occurred worth reporting." And he then innocently continues "How far these proceedings might admit of extenuation in consequence of the distress which at that time prevailed, it is not my province to enquire." As the social and industrial condition of the working classes in the first half of the nineteenth century will be dealt with in the next chapter, we may leave that subject now, and proceed with the remaining incidents, and so bring this unhistorical history to a close.

In the matter of famous men Halifax has been rather unproductive. There was certainly one John of Halifax, otherwise known as De Sacro Bosco, which has a certain foreign un-Yorkshire ring about it, who studied the stars, and died in 1256. There were also a clattering string of more or less eminent divines and college dons; but beyond a couple of cabinet ministers in Messrs. Wood and Stansfeld, who were not strictly of Halifax families, and Archbishop Tillotson, who belonged to Sowerby, Halifax has little above the ordinary kind of successful manufacturers to boast about. Local aristocracy there is none, and the old families have died, or are fast dying out. It is certainly claimed that Daniel Defoe visited Halifax about 1747, and wrote his celebrated work "*Robinson Crusoe*" in a Halifax inn, and that the no less celebrated author Laurence Sterne was once a pupil at Heath Grammar School. Both statements may be true, but even then we are justified in hoping that Laurence picked up his dubious morals elsewhere.

Coming to more modern times we find that Halifax was made a Borough by the first Reform Act of 1832, since which date it has been represented in the House of Parliament by some fifteen more or less illustrious men, Sir. S. Crossley and Mr. J. H. Whitley being the latest, but perhaps not least illustrious additions to the previous baker's dozen of Parliamentary orators, some of whom seldom or never caught the Speaker's eye. Of these Parliamentary representatives three have been classed as Whigs, seven as Liberals, one as a Tory, two as Conservatives, and one as a Liberal Conservative, and it is generally supposed that, except in name, these delicate shades of difference are hardly perceptible to the naked eye of the most careful observer.

Passing by the unprofitable and needlessly contentious field of politics, it may be mentioned that Halifax was incorporated in 1848, and the new Town Hall, which cost £60,000, and is already too small for its purpose, was opened on August 4th, 1863, by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Elaborate preparations were made for the reception of the Prince, and for the stately ceremonies by which the opening was to be accompanied; the Town Councillors appearing in new gowns for the great event, in which it must be admitted they did not make a very imposing spectacle. Immense stores of provisions were laid in by the public purveyors, and strong barricades erected to keep the vast crowds expected, from crowding the procession too closely. But the day was wet, the piles of sandwiches were uneaten, the variegated refreshments unconsumed, the vast crowds never gathered, and the powerful barricades served as lounging posts for the somewhat depressed sightseers, whose half-hearted cheers gave but little encouragement to the draggetailed processionists.

In this so inauspiciously opened hall, many of the worthies, and not a few of the unworthies of Halifax, have strutted their little hour on the civic stage: have wrangled with such capacity and good or bad temper as fortune had granted them; have been praised or blamed, cheered or hooted, as fate and the fickle electorate decided; and have stepped back into obscurity and been forgotten. The choice of the ratepayers has elevated every variety of the genus man to this corporate eminence, and for every variety of reason. The fit and the unfit, the rich and the poor, the wise and the otherwise, have all been chosen in turn. Manufacturers, tradesmen, stock brokers and furniture brokers, doctors, brewers, solicitors, butchers, tailors, hatters, labourers, publicans, and sinners, have all been chosen, but, unfortunately, less for the fitness of the work required of them than because

they were the nominees of one or other of the political parties. This singularly unsatisfactory method of selection, while it is responsible for many unfortunate occurrences, has also debarred many capable, earnest, but unobtrusive men, from all opportunity of public usefulness. Some day no doubt the electors will be wiser, and will choose their representatives as they now choose their tailors, butchers, and doctors, for their special knowledge, and not because they shout for blue, or yellow, or red, on election days.

And what other features of the "good old town" should be enumerated? The town is liberally supplied with churches, chapels, and public houses, but is perhaps rather deficient in elevating amusements. There are summer concerts in the Parks, provided by the Corporation Parks Committee, which is a step in the right direction, and one that should stir the local legislators up to further experiments. There are two theatres, not very liberally encouraged; a football club, which only performs once a week in the winter months; and a choral society which gives three concerts a year to its subscribers, who attend more as a fashionable duty than as an artistic pleasure. There are the periodical church or chapel bazaars, a few subscription concerts that seldom pay their promoters, an occasional circus, a few Sunday school tea parties, the rifle ball, the rose show, and that time dishonoured abomination the midsummer pleasure fair—which has outlived the coarser times it belonged to. There are, to end the list, the Belle Vue and Bank Field free libraries and Municipal museums, one of which offers the visitor an assortment of rather commonplace curiosities, and the other contains one of the worst collections of pictures in the world.

And yet Halifax, in spite of its high pitched streets and its dull, soot covered buildings; in spite of its smoky skies and its unpaid magistrates; its sordid prosperity and its æsthetic poverty; has evident good features. A spirit of progress has somehow infected its public men, and, almost unnoticed, is broadening and brightening its public life, and has already put us many steps in advance of some larger and wealthier towns and cities.

Its waterworks and gasworks are the property of its people, and are excellent in their efficiency and moderate in their charges. Its Borough markets are amongst the very finest in the country, and its Municipal technical schools are, or soon will be, a credit to the town; its Royal infirmary is handsome, modern and complete, and is generously supported by the public subscriptions of all classes; the orphanage and almshouses are valuable possessions; its public parks are a public blessing; the new

workhouse infirmary, at Salterhebble, is liberally fitted for its merciful purpose; and the union workhouse itself is not only greatly superior to many that could be enumerated, but it is a most excellent place to keep out of for those who are fortunate enough to be able to do it. And last, but not least, come the Municipal electricity works and electric trams, which have not only disproved the gloomy prophesies of those who contended that they would prove a loss to the Corporation, but have actually proved of great advantage to the people of the town and district, and a profitable investment to the Borough Council, whose members were so singularly reluctant to undertake them.

This the latest success of municipalism, should embolden the ratepayers and their representatives to go still further in the same direction; and the members of the Halifax Industrial Society should be the most confident supporters of such a movement. For what indeed is municipal activity but a larger, stronger co-operation, in which the ratepayers are the shareholders, the Borough representatives the directors, and the mayor the president? What the founders of the Co-operative Society saw was desirable, and by their efforts accomplished in a small way; the municipality is beginning to recognise, as a public duty, to carry out in a larger way. The intention of the co-operators was to supply their members with necessaries collectively, of a better quality and at a lower price than they could supply themselves individually, and the profits resulting from these wholesale dealings being shared amongst the members in proportion to the amount each expended. That this idea was practical and profitable the present position of the Society is enough to demonstrate, without a word of argument. What was possible to the co-operators should be equally possible to the burgesses; what has proved of such great advantage to the smaller body, should be still more so to the larger one. Of course the larger undertaking has many and powerful opponents, and some of them are sitting in its council chamber. But the smaller undertaking also had many and bitter opponents, and yet succeeded in spite of them. And not only were the reasons for opposition the same in the one case as they will be in the other, but the opponents are actually the same class of people, the same private traders, who resent an attack on their private profits, or chances of future profit, by the action of the community, as they resented the same action on the part of the co-operators.

The co-operation of the ratepayers for the general advantage should, and must, override the private advantages of the private investor or speculator in the larger case, as it did in the smaller

one. And, though the larger co-operation should even absorb in time the smaller one ; as the public library absorbed the smaller and less efficient one of the Co-operative Society, as the Municipal trains have replaced the less efficient and more expensive private busses ; the co-operators should, from their own experience, be the most confident supporters of municipalisation. For it is along these lines, and these only, that Halifax can properly develope ; can house its people as they have never yet been housed ; can cater for its amusements and comforts as it already does for its primitive necessities ; can use, for the advantage of the ratepayer, opportunities that have previously been monopolised by the favoured few ; and transform the old, dull, ugly, and unenlightened Halifax of the nineteenth century, into a bright example of what a wise, happy, and self-governing town should be, before the middle of the twentieth.



CENTRAL STORES (South-East View).

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS FROM 1801 TO 1850.

STANDING as we do, at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is difficult to get or to give a sketch of the condition of England at the beginning of the nineteenth, that will not look distorted and over-coloured to the careless reader, who knows little of the history of his own country, or the social condition of its people, in such comparatively recent times. The ordinary members of what may be called the industrial classes, the intelligent busy working men, the small shopkeepers, the humble employers of labour; the men whose work is almost exclusively active; whose knowledge is more concerned with the needs and requirements of the present day; whose minds are almost entirely occupied with the collection, manufacture, and distribution of the thousand necessities and luxuries of our busy life; are too deeply interested in the work and workers of to-day, to bestow much study or thought on the work or workers of a century ago.

And yet, without some sketch of those times, however brief and imperfect, justice could hardly be done to the history of the early days of the Halifax Industrial Society, the circumstances amid which it was founded, or to the hard and gloomy experiences of the poor but earnest men who laid its foundation. It is almost impossible for the working man of to-day to conceive the life of poverty, ignorance and degradation, lived by the poor in the early years of the century just concluded. They had, literally, no political power, for as one of the sixty peers made by Pitt to over-ride the Commons, said "the people have nothing to do with the laws except to obey them." It must be born in mind that few amongst the working classes could read or write, and that newspapers and books were quite beyond their reach, even if they had been able to read them. *The Times*, in those days, had but four pages, little if any larger than the *Co-operative News*, and was sold at sixpence. The working classes had no votes, and even the few shopkeepers, farmers, and small landowners, who had, dare not cast them against the nominee of the noblemen, who literally owned the majority of the borough seats, and sold or gave them to any candidates who suited their purposes, and without the slightest reference to the electors, who were only such in name.

It must also be remembered that travelling was dear, difficult, and dangerous; that railways were not invented, stage coaches and country waggons being the only means of conveyance; that the hours of labour were quite unrestricted, and very long; the wages poor, the cost of living very high; and the opportunities of getting work or even seeking it, in towns but a score of miles distant, for those who could not pay the heavy cost of travelling, was a long and painful process, of which we, in these days of cheap fares and a copious supply of industrial news, have little idea.

But, if the lives of the working classes have altered for the better in the course of the last century, those of the upper classes have also altered immensely, and with great advantage since the days of Pitt and Fox, when gambling and drunkenness were the ordinary evening's amusement, and duelling of common occurrence. Fox was a notorious gambler, and often sat at the play table through a day and a night, losing or winning large sums with stoical indifference; and men of the highest rank were frequently carried "as drunk as lords" from the dinner table, even if they were not already snoring in a drunken slumber beneath it.

This looseness of social manners was but a pale reflection of the immorality of political life. Seats and places were bought and sold, offices given to the most unworthy connections of great families, bribes almost openly offered for political support, and accepted without even a pretence of shame. The laws were cruel and unjust, men, and even women, being hung, drawn and quartered for petty offences, of which they were frequently convicted on evidence of the flimsiest character. Robbery and violence were not uncommon in the streets by day, and the highways and public roads were infested nightly by the footpads and highwaymen, who levied illegal taxes on the purses of travellers who were not strong enough to protect themselves.

Let us try to give a crude outline of the condition of the country in the early days of the century, when Pitt, who had been one of the most democratic of the Whigs, had turned over and sat alone, on the seat of power, as the Minister of a bigotted and half imbecile King, and commenced that struggle against the French Republic which lasted nearly a score of years, and almost exhausted the physical and financial resources of his country.

Intense was the sorrow of the reformers of those days—men who, led by Sir Francis Burdett, Horne Tooke, and others, were demanding, even then, the universal suffrage and shorter parliaments we have not yet obtained—on finding their recreant

associate resolute to employ all the powers of the country against France, and to crush their opposition in the process: for the latter was indeed his purpose. Supported by the Royal favour, and by an overwhelming majority composed of the members for rotten Boroughs; the Minister replied to every motion for peace or reform, by ringing the division bell; and to the immense gatherings and memorials of the people, by using all the machinery of the law, and an army of spies, for the destruction of their leaders. The reformers, Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, and others, stood at the bar of the Old Bailey for nine days before they were acquitted on a charge of sedition. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, the gaols were filled with untried political prisoners, clubs were shut up, and public meetings forbidden. The national debt had swelled from eighty millions to three hundred and ten millions in a few years (to be more than doubled in a few more). The annual taxes rose in the same period from ten to thirty millions; the poor rates were rising at an even greater pace; the bank of England was at the end of its resources, and was authorised to issue paper as a legal tender; there was little or no success in the war; and bad harvests and consequent misery and starvation came to complete the calamities of an oppressed people.

The year after the naval power of France was broken at Trafalgar, that is, in 1806, Pitt, after a wild life of stormy power, died, worn out, at forty-seven, deeply in debt, deserted by the friends he had raised to power and position, and attended only by one servant, leaving his country in the midst of troubles his headstrong ambition had mainly created. Fox, his great antagonist, died shortly after, and the two fierce opponents were laid almost side by side in Westminster Abbey, thus preaching a silent homily on the transience of human power, ambition, and fame, more powerful than had ever flowed from their too eloquent lips.

There were yet many years of hard and continuous war before the final overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo; years which left this country victorious, but exhausted. The poverty of the working classes was extreme, and is sufficient explanation of the excitement and disturbances that arose. Those were the days of protection, and war prices were kept up, although shiploads of corn, Dutch butter and cheese, herds of cattle and flocks of sheep were waiting for admission at our ports until English wheat, then at 60/- should rise to 66/-,—and admit foreign competition. But the landlords and the farmers dreaded this peaceful invasion, and hotly pressed for legislation; and the raising of the scale of protection to 80/- was hastily carried, in spite of the protest of the industrial interests.

This led to great privation and regrettable outbreaks. Incendiary fires blazed nightly in the farming districts, and rude demands for a fixed price for bread were more rudely enforced; houses and shops were pillaged, and encounters with the military ensued. Later in the year the iron workers of Merthyr rose, and put out the furnaces that barely gave them bread for their labour. In Leicester and Nottingham the Luddite insurrection broke out, and not only factories, but houses and shops were attacked and pillaged; there were riots in Glasgow and other places; but in none of these eruptions was it ever pretended that the reasons were political. And these disturbances continued, at frequent intervals, until the final Repeal of the Corn Laws by Sir Robert Peel, in 1846; and were met by dribblets of grudging reform, or by more frequent stern repression, as at Peterloo, in 1819, when the cavalry charged an immense crowd of unarmed men, women, and even children, of whom hundreds were wounded, and eleven, including two women and a child, were killed.

This disaster took place in St. Peter's field, Manchester, on the spot where the Free Trade Hall now stands. The magistrates were so concerned by the public indignation their ruthless and unnecessary acts brought forth, that they sought the support of the Government, and they, after anxious and hasty deliberation, resolved to support them: and the thanks of the Prince Regent for their "prompt, decisive and efficient measures for the preservation of the public peace," were conveyed to the magistrates: which thanks were followed by votes of censure and demands for enquiry from great meetings all over the country. Five hundred and sixty cases of serious injury were reported, nearly one hundred and fifty of whom were women. "It is," said an eye witness of the fearful scene, "infinitely to the honour of the working classes of that day, that their six hundred killed and wounded were smitten down unarmed, and were not avenged by midnight burnings or savage assaults," with which opinion we can all agree. Following on this came the passing of what were known as the "Six Acts," which destroyed or suspended almost every privilege of free meeting and free speech, on which Englishmen were accustomed to plume themselves.

As to Parliament and its elections, such evidences of corruption were brought out after the election of 1826 as almost to pass belief. For instance, the committees on disputed returns, reported that scenes of gross bribery and corruption had been enacted at Colchester, Northampton, Preston, Penryn, and East Retford, and the two latter boroughs were disfranchised, and it was proposed to transfer their forfeited rights to Manchester,

which had then no Parliamentary representation! At this enquiry it was shown that bribery was rampant, and that one recent election, for Yorkshire, had cost £120,000, and that if both candidates had gone through the fifteen days the poll lasted, the expenses would have been near a quarter of a million.

An attempt was also made in that Parliament to repeal or to modify the Game Laws, under which 4,500 people had been transported or imprisoned within three years! This attempt failed however, but a Bill was passed prohibiting the setting of man traps and spring guns in game preserves, by which many suspected poachers were maimed or killed, without any charge being sustained against those who set the guns. The suffering in the rural districts, indeed in those days of close protection, was always severe and often terrible; and it is sad to reflect that hundreds of honest men with hungry families, often had to choose between the risk of the poachers' punishment, and the semi-starvation of their wives and children.

But perhaps the severest disturbances were those which preceded and accompanied the passing of the first Reform Bill, in 1832—a story that is too long to tell here, though well worth the most careful study; how the Bill was introduced and defeated in the Commons, in 1831, when Parliament was dissolved; how the Bill was re-introduced and passed by the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords; how this act was followed by intense public excitement, and terrible riots in different parts of the country, which were sternly, even savagely, repressed. Then the Bill was again carried through the Commons, and had passed its second reading in the Lords, when the Easter recess was taken; and the interval was used for the display of fierce excitement and monstre meetings in all parts of the country. One meeting numbering over 150,000 men, in the Midlands, declared that they would pay no more taxes until the Bill passed. Almost the same day, the Bill was again thrown out by the Lords and the Bishops. And then how, ultimately, the Duke of Wellington gave way, almost on the verge of civil war, and the Reform Bill was passed on the 7th of June, 1832. This Bill conferred votes in counties on £50 tenants, and in boroughs on £10 householders, with severe restrictions as to ratepaying and registration, and of course practically excluded the whole of the working classes.

It would be impossible, in two or three pages, even to outline the fierce and bitter struggles of the next fifteen years. The three Chartist risings, that were almost rebellions, and led to frequent conflicts between the soldiers and the people, to the mutilation and death of many, to the cruel persecution and long

imprisonment of men of all classes, with consequent misery and unmerited suffering to women and children. These must be passed over, as must the long struggle for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, so ably advocated by Richard Cobden and others, so obstinately opposed by the peers, the landlords and the farmers, in the face of the misery and semi-starvation of the poor, to whom a bad harvest meant a year of hunger and despair. Add to the constantly recurring scenes of riot, strife, oppression, and bitter resentment, the panic caused by the bursting of the bubble of railway speculation; the second French revolution, which revived the fires of insurrection and shook every throne in Europe; and the terrible visitation of Cholera which brought lamentation and woe to the homes of rich and poor alike; and you will have some idea of the condition of the labouring classes in the last fifteen years of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Nor must we forget the purely local conditions; the sufferings of a commercial community in the early days of the factory system, when women and children were brought to take the places and do the work of men in the factories and the mines. Until 1833 children of six or seven years old could be worked in factories without restriction. They were hired from workhouses in the rural districts, as well as from the poor parents in this neighbourhood, as was proved by the Government enquiry obtained by Mr. Richard Oastler, Robert Owen, and others, and treated worse than slaves. The work in some factories in this neighbourhood was carried on day and night without pause. "Children," says the report, "were often worked sixteen hours a day, by day and by night, Sunday being used to clean the machinery. In stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels; fingers and feet were forced into ceaseless action by blows from the heavy hands of the remorseless overlookers. These children were fed upon the coarsest and cheapest food, and not enough of that; they slept by turns, and in relays, in filthy beds which were never cool, for one set of children were sent to sleep in them so soon as the others had gone off to their daily or nightly toil. Many died and were buried secretly at night, in some desolate spot, lest people should notice the number of the graves; and many committed suicide."

The most terrible state of things existed in the mines, even within a mile of the Halifax Town Hall. Here children, of both sexes, worked together, more than half naked, often for sixteen hours a day. In our local mines children of eight, seven, and even six years of age were found at work. Girls from eight to sixteen years of age drew coal along the passages of the mines,

crawling on all fours, harnessed by a chain to the corves. Take this for example, from Lord Shaftsbury's Children's Employment Commission in 1842. Of Halifax it says "A great number of children, as hurriers, are apprenticed by Boards of Guardians, from eight years and upwards, paying with them a sovereign, to be expended as their master chooses. Many colliers take three, four, or more at a time, supporting themselves and families out of their labour." Here is the reported evidence of a boy, Thomas Moorhouse, "I began to hurry when I was nine years old, father is dead, mother is dead also. I was apprenticed to William Greenwood. He was bound to find me in food and clothes, I never had enough. The Overseers gave him a sovereign to buy clothes with, but he never bought any. He used me very bad. He used to hit me with his belt, and mawl, and fling coals at me; he stuck his pick in me twice. I used to sleep in the cabins or in the old pits that had done working, and slept upon the shale. I used to eat the candles often that the colliers left in the pits overnight."

That was in Southowram; this, of a girl, was in Elland, Mary Barrett, aged fourteen. "I am a hurrier in the pit, I have been there going in five years. I work always without shoes, or stockings, or trousers; I wear nothing but my shift. I have to go up to the headings with the men, they are all naked there, except for their caps. I have got used to that now, and don't care much about it, but I was afraid at first."

Enough; this is not a pleasant subject; let us leave these poor young drudges of whom Mrs. Browning wrote, with such blazing indignation in the "Cry of the Children," a poem that, like Tom Hood's "Song of the Shirt," pleaded so eloquently the cause of the poor. Let us leave them and enquire for a moment into the conditions of adult labour in Halifax, in the ten years that preceeded the commencement of the Co-operative Society.

First then let us consider two extracts from a Parliamentary report, dated 1843, compiled by S. S. Scriven, Esq., who took evidence as to the work, wages, food and lodgings of working people in and around Halifax. Mr. Scriven gave ten families as examples, and ten tables of their expenditure, from which we find that the total weekly expenditure on meat for these sixty-eight persons was twelve shillings; four of those families, with a total of twenty-seven persons, having nothing to spend on meat at all. One of these families, living in Elland, consisted of a handloom weaver, and his wife and four children, of whom two girls, ages 14 and 9 years, earned three shillings and sixpence between them, the father and mother, by weaving and winding,

earning twelve shillings—total income fifteen and sixpence. As six and fivepence went in flour and meal, and one and threepence in rent, half the income was thus expended, and, as flour was at that period from four to five shillings a stone, the family must have been sometimes short of food, even when potatoes sevenpence, butter sixpence, milk tenpence, and coffee twopence, are taken into account.

Of their dwelling Mr. Scriven said, "This house had two rooms. In the first was a deal table, one chair, four stools, a corner cupboard containing four plates, two cups and saucers, four wooden plates, three pewter spoons, five earthenware bowls, and a poker but no fender. In the other room stood an old loom, two stump bedsteads with flock beds, one blanket and two ragged quilts. Neither of the children could read or write, and the father only a little.

Another family was that of Steven Ambler, weaver, Halifax, —address not given—who was a widower with seven children, of whom four were earning fourteen and sixpence, the father averaging six shillings, bringing the income up to one pound and sixpence a week. There were five girls and two boys, ranging from 22 to 2 years of age. Steven's house had only two rooms, which had to provide accommodation, by day and night, for eight people; the furniture inventory being very similar to that previously given, and formed, said Mr. Scriven, "a distressing spectacle." Not one of the family could read or write, could seldom go to chapel or Sunday school for want of clothes, "and scarcely knew what it was to have enough to eat."

These, which are fair samples of the cases recorded, may be supported by the recollections of another Halifax man, an old Chartist of Southowram, named Greenwood, who was born about 1802, and died some twenty odd years ago. At forty-three years of age he was generally taken for sixty. He worked then in the mill, with his two sons, earning about £1 11s. 0d. between them. A little later they had three reductions in twelve months, bringing the joint earnings down to about £1 1s. 0d. when they had full work, and they turned out against a proposed further reduction, and took part in some of the disturbances in this neighbourhood; he was in the riot at Salterhebble when the cavalry came to blows with the people, and had to hide all night in a drain to escape capture. Had a terrible hard struggle to live at all, having, at this time, seldom more than sixteen shillings a week for the support of nine persons. On the day after the riot alluded to, when he crept home, he found his second son had just died of consumption and want of food, at the age of sixteen.

The old man's worn face used to harden, and his eyes glisten, when he talked of those days, and thought of the secret meetings, the gun hid in the cellar, of the empty cupboard, the hungry children, and the cold looks of suspicion and words of refusal that greeted the angry old Chartist's appeals for help and pity for his dying son.

The recollections of another old Chartist shall also be laid under contribution. These, published in pamphlet form some years ago, were the recollections of Benjamin Wilson, an early enthusiastic co-operator, whose name will be found often repeated amongst the list of directors of the Halifax Industrial Society, at the end of this volume. Ben was born at Skircoat Green in 1824, and was an earnest Radical and reformer from childhood. He said, in his little book "*The Struggles of an old Chartist*," "I was not surprised at the people, women, as well as men, being so earnest in the cause of reform, when I heard my mother tell how they had to suffer, for, when she was a girl, she used to bray sand for a neighbour who sold it, giving her potato parings for it, which her mother boiled and they eat them. I went, as a boy, to work for Mr. Denton, farmer and shopkeeper, who was very kind to me; but many a time since then I have known what it was to be famishing for something to eat. Many a time in winter I have known what it was to be short of the commonest of food, and thousands in this parish were as bad or worse. A great many tales of want and sorrow could be told to prove that there was plenty in those days to make men desperate, for lives, such as we lived, were not so valuable as they are now. Many persons were arrested, and tried and imprisoned, who were innocent of all but hunger: and many had narrow escapes of being sent to prison for having arms in their possession. The Chartists were called ugly names, the swinish multitude, the great unwashed, and met black looks when they asked for work.

"Bill Cockroft, one of the leaders of the physical force party in Halifax, asked me to join the movement. I consented, and bought a gun, though I knew it to be a dangerous thing for a Chartist to have a gun or a pike in his possession. It may be said now that we were fools, but you have no idea what we had to endure. "*Tom Brown's Schooldays*" would have had no charm for me, as I had never been to a day school in my life. When very young I had to begin working, and was pulled out of bed at four in the morning to go with a donkey, and then take part in milking the cows, and was kept at it till eight at night taking out the milk. From eighteen to twenty-four years old I should not average nine shillings a week wages, and things were

very dear. I have been a weaver, a comber, a navvy on the railway, a bearer in the delph, and claim to know something of the condition of the working classes, and well remember talking with an old friend lately, who was making bullets in the cellar in 1848, hungry and sad, for he had a wife and five children depending on him, and had no work, and little chance of getting any."

This old friend, whose name is withheld, got on by dint of hard industry, however, and was ultimately able to retire from work and pass his old age in comfort, and generally respected.

Ben Wilson took part in many of the disturbances of those stormy times: in the attack on the cavalry at Salterhebble, when many people were wounded, and one soldier killed; and took part in many other meetings that resulted in collision with the military or police. Here is one more quotation from his stormy recollections. "The trade of the country had not been so bad for years as it was in 1842, when there were thousands out of employment and in a wretched condition. On August 15th, news came that a mob was marching from Bradford in thousands. I made my way, as fast as possible, and met them at the top of New Bank. I was surprised when I saw thousands of men and women marching in procession, armed with cudgels. We had not gone far before we met a great number of special constables, and soldiers with fixed bayonets and drawn swords, coming out of the town.

"We met them a little above Berry's foundry, they were accompanied by magistrates, one of whom read the Riot Act, and declared we were not to enter the town. I was not far from the front, but, seeing the impossibility of forcing our way through them, we went over walls and through fields, and came down Range Bank to Northgate. From North Parade to the Temperance Hall was one large field, and where the Co-operative Stores now stand the field wall was about four yards high, and there I, along with thousands, stood when the soldiers came by, and a great many stones were thrown at them."

Indeed there was more than stone throwing, for that day and the two following ones there was a good deal of severe fighting, large numbers were taken prisoners and heavily punished, and scores of men were severely wounded; a magistrate, Mr. Wm. Briggs, had his arm broken, and one soldier and at least two civilians were killed, one being shot dead at his own door and one died on his way to the Infirmary, when the soldiers fired into the mob at the top of Haley Hill.

And here this rough sketch of the social condition of the working classes in this district must end, that the history of the Halifax Industrial Society may be related.



D. COTON.



J. FOREMAN.



Co-operation in Halifax.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST PERIOD, FROM 1850 TO THE END OF 1860.

Date.	Members.	Capital.	Sales.	Profit.
1851	231	95	2,175	68
1852	276	426	3,749	93
1853	312	412	4,439	15
1854	309	437	4,329	—
1855	316	454	4,205	55
1856	326	418	4,737	65
1857	342	482	5,166	90
1858	367	546	5,376	108
1859	414	707	6,260	239
1860	1,374	4,084	16,575	787

AMID the tempestuous times, and the hard conditions of life, recorded in the previous chapter, the first tentative attempts to establish Co-operation in Halifax were made by a few humble and earnest Idealists and Chartists, inspired by the theories of Robert Owen, and perhaps by the success that was beginning to attend the efforts of the Rochdale Pioneers, who commencing with some forty members and a capital of barely £28 in 1844, had grown to over three hundred members, and a capital of over £1,100 four years later. Many unsuccessful attempts appear to have been made in Halifax, and the last of them, with which several men who were afterwards to take prominent places in the now flourishing Society were connected, commenced its brief and abortive history at the end of 1848.

It was born in the Chartist meeting room, Jo Foreman, Ben Wilson, John Culpan, and other future officers of the present Society, taking an active part in its formation. The first meeting was held on January 15th, 1849, when some two score

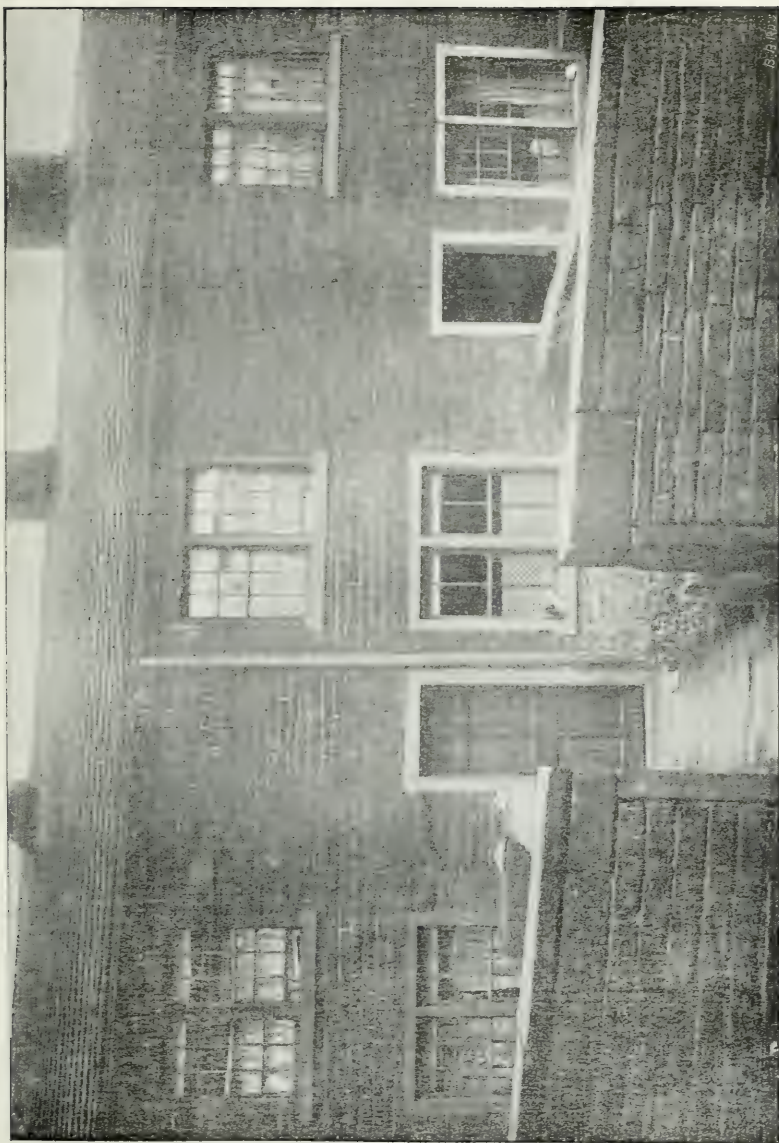
members were enrolled, and the "Halifax Co-operative Trading Society" was launched, with the few pounds its members could scrape up by the most rigid economy and self-denial. This Society decided to pay no bonus, but to add all profits to the too slender capital; but the wise resolution was never carried out, as losses and not profits were the sole results of the effort.

Of this abortive attempt Mr. Ben Wilson in his little book "The Struggles of an old Chartist," already quoted from, wrote "Mr. George Buckley, who had been a shop-keeper, and was, we knew, a friend of the working classes, gave us his advice with regard to purchasing groceries. We bought two or three hundred-weight of soap and sugar, made up into one and two pound packages, and sold them out to ourselves; but we began to see that our scheme was not patronised as it ought to have been, so we had to abandon it, and lose nearly all we had put in, which was not much. We only existed about five months, and whatever we took in hand seemed doomed to disappointment. We had every confidence in our principles however, and believed the time would come when they would have a better chance of success."

That the dogged old Chartist's confidence was justified beyond his fondest expectations, this history should at least abundantly testify. And thus ended the last unfortunate forerunner of the present Society, after a brief and inglorious career, some eighteen months before its successor was brought into existence, by those who still believed in the possibility of industrial combination amongst the working classes.

So the present Halifax Industrial Society commenced its ultimately prosperous history, in very modest circumstances, and under many disadvantages, in the month of September, 1850. It was commenced under much the same conditions as its immediate predecessor, in a cottage house in Back Foundry Street, occupied at the time by a Scotch weaver named Richard Horsfall. This cottage, which is still standing, and is represented on page 35, could not have accommodated a very prosperous business, and it may safely be assumed that the stock was neither a large nor a valuable one, nor the trade very extensive. Indeed the profits shown on its first statement of accounts amounted only to twelve and twopence, and, as it covered a period of thirteen weeks, the prospect of immediate fortune—on a profit of less than a shilling a week—was hardly a brilliant one.

The members, of whom there appear to have been less than fifty, used to attend at nights in turn, after their day's work was



COTTAGE IN BACK FOUNDRY STREET.

ABSTRACT OF BALANCE SHEET
FOR THE FIFTEEN WEEKS,
 ENDING MAY 3RD, 1851,
AS LAID BEFORE THE HALF-YEARLY MEETING,
 HELD JUNE 2ND, 1851.

—◆—

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

	£	s.	d.
Gross Receipts	660	2	8½
Expenditure	617	11	1
Balance in hand	42	11	7½

TOTAL ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

Total Assets	246	9	2½
Total Liabilities	199	6	6
Balance in favour of the Society	47	2	8½

STOCK ACCOUNT;

Or profit and loss upon the sales and stock.

Sales and stock on hand, May 3rd	714	7	1
Goods on hand, Jan. 18th, and purchases since	637	5	9½
Balance or gross profit	77	1	3½
Necessary Expenses	39	6	4
Nett Profit	37	14	11½

over, to sell the groceries to each other; and, as the cottage is a small one, must have considerably inconvenienced the Scotch weaver's domestic arrangements by so doing.

Little is known of these early days of the Society, except that the first member on the list was Mr. Benjamin Aaron, and that it was little if anything more than the effort of a few working men to purchase simple necessities in bulk, and distribute them in small quantities amongst the members. Mr. G. J. Holyoake, who wrote a short history of the Halifax Industrial Society in 1864, when most of the pioneers of the movement were still living, and information was obtainable, disposes of these first years of struggle in a few lines—and no other record is available.

In the January of 1851, the "Halifax Working Men's Co-operative and Provident Society," as it was then called, removed to a shop in Cow Green, since pulled down. Here its history may be considered to have commenced. Its first president was Mr. John Swift; its trustees Messrs. Ben Aaron, N. Dobson, and John Chaffer; its treasurer Mr. John Dennis; its auditors Messrs. C. Barker and John Dobson; its board of management Messrs. Kendal, Collins, Buckle, Ewan, and Wood; its secretary Mr. John Culpan; and its storekeepers—who probably acted in turns—were Mr. Dan Coton and Mr. Joseph Foreman.

So far as can be discovered, the capital of the Society was only £95 at this time, the number of members 231; the sales for the year realised £2,175, and the profits £68. These at least are the figures given by Mr. Holyoake; but as all the records of the first ten years of the Society have disappeared, and as the men who recorded them have followed their records into everlasting obscurity, these accounts can neither be verified nor contradicted. It must be admitted that the first balance sheet, of which a copy appears on page 36, hardly seems to agree with the above statement, and probably gave a too roseate estimate of the profits earned.

The venture made but little progress for several years, for the number of members which is given as 231 in 1851 had only risen to 414 eight years later, while the yearly sales had scarcely risen at the same rate, and the profits actually decreased. All that can be said is that the Society held together, with sturdy Yorkshire determination, and hoped for the better days that were so long in coming.

Little vestige is left of the history of those bygone difficulties, for it probably never occurred to these earnest reformers

that the humdrum uphill struggles, which were so hard, unrelenting, and sordid to them, would come to be valued fifty years later, as an interesting part of the history of a wealthy, useful, and flourishing institution. But though nothing but shreds and patches of material are available; a few balance sheets; a few carelessly written pages and chance references; and a very few hazy recollections clinging in the memories of old men who were boys at the time; it is not difficult to piece these fragments together into a recognisable resemblance to the probabilities.

We can easily picture these stern unlettered men, with the marks of hard and ill paid toil on their hands and faces, the fires of the dying Chartist movement still smouldering in their sad hearts; having lost faith and hope of attaining social and industrial regeneration through the action of Parliament, striving by their own earnest and experimental efforts, to free themselves from the grinding poverty that oppressed them. We can easily picture these men meeting together in the room over their shop; poring over the accounts and anxiously arguing in rough and homely language over the most satisfactory means of making ten pounds do the work of twenty. See them late in the evening, when business was over, sitting round the table while one of their number read aloud the political articles from the Radical or Chartist weekly paper, by the light of a single candle. Then gravely discussing the political and social outlook, e'er they broke up for the night and went home, tired with the work and worry of a long day, their heads full of the cares and anxieties, the hopes and fears, the still unrealised aspirations of their faded youth.

"The published reports of the Society," says Mr. Holyoake, "bear many names which recall memories of devotion to co-operation, when it had few friends and no repute as now. Joseph Foreman, Abraham Baldwin, Benjamin Aaron, David Crossley and Ben Wilson are instances. And the 1852 Report acknowledges the services rendered to their struggles by the *Journal of Association*, *The Leader*, and Ernest Jones's paper *The Northern Star*."

So for three years the Society dragged on, the profits of £68 in 1851 having fallen to £45 in 1853, when the manifest difficulties of the situation were further complicated by the financial sins of the treasurer, who somehow misappropriated a sum of £81, and caused a panic in the Society. This was in 1855, and so great was the alarm amongst the members, by this serious proof of mismanagement, that one-fourth of them at once gave notice of withdrawal. Of this panic Mr. Holyoake



SHOP IN COW GREEN.

says "The Board room was stormed one night by a crowd of alarmed members. Sixty gave notice at once to draw out their shares. A local Cromwell headed the excited insurgents, and Mr. Foreman, one of the directors, with the genius of a constitutional minister, refused to deliberate "under pressure from without," moved the adjournment of the Board, and refused to announce to the insurrectionists when or where they would meet again. Distrust was sown, the Society was split up, and a courageous Socialistic moiety, who never lost faith in the principle, held on as they always do."

So far Mr. Holyoake, who probably received his information from the men who bore the brunt of the storm that threatened to wreck the young Society. When the panic occurred there were 316 members, so that the loss which caused it, only amounted to an average of some five shillings a man, which seems a small amount to make a fuss about; and it would be very easy to make fun of the money-loving Yorkshiremen who were thrown into a state of panic by the loss of five shillings each. But that would hardly be a fair view of the matter. It should be remembered that this event came in the middle of the Crimean war, when the cost of the poorest living was almost beyond the means of the poor. Then again, it was probably not merely the loss alone that shook their confidence; but the sudden perception of the unpleasant fact that the management must be so loose, that even more serious irregularities might occur. In fact it was less the loss of the money, than the loss of confidence in the business capacity of the trustees and directors, which shook the stability of the Society.

The defaulting treasurer was proceeded against by the directors, but with no satisfactory result. He engaged a solicitor, who, being well aware of the defenceless state, legally, of such Societies in those days, got the trial removed to London, trusting that the expense of carrying the case there would prevent the Society from going on with it, in which he seems to have been correct, as the matter was abandoned. The treasurer, whose name even, is now uncertain, asserted that he knew nothing about the money, and the book-keeping seems to have been so primitive that proof would have been difficult if not impossible.

There is no means of discovering what, if any, dividends were paid in these early years, as the only two balance sheets now existing, those for the first half of 1855 and the last half of 1856, are silent on the subject. Mr. Holyoake has, however, preserved the profit certificates of Mr. Sturzaker, which throw some light on the matter, and are as follows:

HALIFAX WORKING MEN'S CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

(Established September, 1850).

To the secretary of the Halifax Working Men's Co-operative Society.

July 30, 1851.

Place to the credit of JOHN STURZAKER, No. 97, the sum of two shillings 3d., being the apportionment of the profits on trading, due to him for the half-year ending May 3, 1851, and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Purchases £1 14 8.

Profit £0 2 3.

Signed, C. BARKER.

Other certificates preserved by Mr. Holyoake show that Mr. Sturzaker's share of the profits were 4s.11d. in 1852, 3s.9½d. in 1853, 1s.6d. in 1854, 1s.2d. in 1855, 3s.8½d. in 1856, and 3s.2d. in 1857, from which it is at least clear that a profit of only £1 5s. 4d. in seven years offered Mr. Sturzaker but a remote chance of wealth as the results of his co-operative investments.

Indeed for the first nine years of its life, the Society made little or no progress. And then, from 1859 to 1860, the number of members increased from 414 to 1,374; the capital from £700 to £4,000; and the business from £6,000 to £17,000. There are no means of explaining this sudden leap, though an old member attributes it to the efforts of a few energetic men to infuse new blood into the Board of Directors, and to get some more progressive trustees elected. Certainly a keener interest was taken in the Society by its members, and preparations were at once made to extend the trade by opening branches in Northowram, Ovenden, Akroydon, and King Cross; these branches actually getting into active operation in the February, April, July, and November of the year 1860.

And now at last we get upon reliable ground, for the minute books of the Society, commencing with that for 1860, are available to the present date, with one short gap to be afterwards alluded to. The first written records now existing, commence with the half-yearly meeting, held in the Odd Fellows' Hall, on May 14th, 1860, when Mr. Robert Wade, who was the president, was in the chair; when some new rules of which this is the first and only mention were read and adopted. The meeting was then adjourned till June 4th for the election of officers, when Mr. Wade, after this one official appearance in the records of the Society, was superseded by Mr. James Whitehead; Messrs. John Chaffer, Ben Aaron, and Jonathan Brier became trustees; Mr. Ben Walshaw the treasurer; and Mr. Sam Holden the secretary.

The directors, Messrs. Robert Wade, Henry Spencer, Joseph Foreman, Richard Holt, Ben Wrigley, G. Bentley, J. Ackroyd, Jeremiah Olive, W. Heaton, and Jas. Woodhead, got at once to business, by deciding that a branch should be opened at Boothtown as soon as a shop could be found. They then decided that Joseph Foreman and John Chaffer should see after suitable premises; that Miss Briggs be engaged in the dressmaking department at 8s. per week; that Messrs. H. Spencer, Robert Wade, and John Ackroyd should be the store committee, and should have the unconfident salary of threepence an hour when engaged in that responsible occupation; that Mr. Foreman and Mr. Wrigley assist the secretary with the books—no remuneration being mentioned; and that ten new members, from 686 to 695 inclusive be admitted.

From this period it is possible to form a moderately accurate idea of the Society and its workings, from the records of the directors' meetings. And from those records, written forty years ago, with never a thought in the minds of the writers that their brief unstudied sentences would ever have more than a passing interest, or ever be considered by a larger audience than that of the dozen or so of hardworking and attentive directors who read and passed them, the following particulars are drawn.

The first striking feature of the minutes for this year, as for many following ones, is the constant addition of new members at every meeting of the Board. And when it is borne in mind that the membership rose from 414 in 1859 to 1,374 in the course of 1860, and rose at the rate of more than a thousand in each of the following three years; the constant repetition of the proposal "that the — new members from — to — both inclusive be admitted" is not surprising, and must have given the directors satisfaction from its very monotony.

This, the earliest of the minute books kept by the Society that can now be discovered, gives from its very appearance a clue to the standing of the "Halifax Working Men's Co-operative Society," and the earnest, unpretentious men, who owned and managed it. Here is no heavy, official looking, commercial volume, paged and indexed, bound in half calf with marbled edges; but a simple exercise book of some 120 pages, bound in what was once a bright blue cloth limp cover, with a gold line ruled round it; the sort of book indeed that young ladies used to keep for their friends to write their own or some other poet's verses in, and probably cost the Society about eighteen pence. The writing and arrangement of the resolutions is as unconventional as the book in which they are written; the minutes of a

whole meeting often "running on" as printers call it, without pause or break, until it pulls up suddenly with the carefully written signature of the chairman. Here, for example, are the minutes of one meeting, copied out exactly as the secretary wrote them:

Board meeting held Oct. 10th officers present Secretary president treasurer Directors Messrs B Wrigley Henry Spencer Robert Wade Richard Holt John Akroyd W Heaton and Joseph Foreman Resolved 1st that we write to the owners of the Crigelstone Coal Mine to ascertain the cost price of their coal per tun 2nd that the coal business be kept a separate affair and that the cart driver be instructed to take pay for all coal on delivery 3rd that the committee of Northowram be allowed to affix some shelves in the Store at Northowram 4th that the Northowram and Ovenden Store Keepers be advanced 2' per week on their wages 5th that Horsfall be the architect for the new shops which we are about to build 6th that Ben Wrigley Joseph Foreman and Henry Hartley be the Building Committee with power to add to their No 7th that the 27 new members be admitted from No. 924 to 950 both inclusive

JAMES WHITEHEAD.

Who can tell how many anxious hours were spent over the old shop in Cow Green that October evening, in anxiously considering the pros and cons of these briefly worded resolutions? The minutes copied above, were chosen because they give a fair sample of an ordinary evening's business; because they record the important appointment of the architect and building committee for the new stores then about to be commenced in Northgate; and because, for all their quaint simplicity and unconventional spelling, they give a perfectly clear and commendably brief account of the business actually transacted. As to the new stores, it had been decided at a general meeting held in the Temperance Hall, on October 1st, that the Board be empowered to buy land and build commodious premises, suitable to the wants of the Society's growing business.

About this time too, probably, the first horse ever owned by the Society was purchased; for at the Board Meeting on September 18th, it was resolved "That ten shillings be paid to Sam Haigh for going to purchase the horse at Stainland twice and that William Foreman be paid five shillings for one journey to Stainland with Sam Haigh," from which it might be inferred that Sam failed to make a bargain unaided on his first visit, and took William to support his efforts in the second, and clearly

successful attempt. The probable success of the second visit is a fair inference from the decision on the same evening (Sep. 18th) "That Mr. John Sturzaker make the horse gears and that John Brier be employed as cart driver at 18s. per week on trial," and it is certain such cautious managers would not have laid out money in gearing and a driver, until they had obtained a horse to be geared and driven.

It was also decided to appoint a general manager of the business of the Society, and after correspondence with the Rochdale Society, after advertising in the Rochdale and other papers, and after careful consideration of the claims of the applicants: it was resolved, on the 31st of July, "That Mr. Wilson be selected from the rest of the candidates at £60 per annum, if his references be satisfactory, and that Messrs. Wrigley, Wade, and Whitehead make enquiry into the character of Mr. Wilson, and, if proved satisfactory to them, that they shall employ him."

That these enquiries were made and were at least partly satisfactory, is shown by a resolution at the next meeting of the Board, resolving "That the select committee appointed by the Board are quite justifiable in the course they have taken with employing Mr. Wilson as assistant and book-keeper."

They also decided that it was time the Society opened a banking account, "as a security for the Society's money," and one was accordingly opened with the Joint Stock Bank, and thenceforth "all surplus money should be deposited with the bank daily." It was also resolved "That David Tempest Dan Coton Joseph Foreman and Ben Aaron be the four persons to sign all bank cheques for the purpose of drawing upon the bank."

Hereabouts also we come to the engagement of a young man who is still in the employment of the Society, with a longer period of service even than Mr. Leonard Storey, whom he preceded by some nine months. The resolution making this appointment of such an evidently excellent servant was as follows:

"Moved by J. Chaffer seconded by B. Wrigley that J. M. Jackson and Starkey Wilson 2 young men who have made application in answer to an advertisement in the local papers for 2 young men to learn the business of grocers and that we employ these young men at 8/- a week and give them an advance of 1/- per week on the first of May 1861 with an advance of 1/- per year after on the first of May next following until they are 21 years of age passed."

This young man, Starkey Wilson, is now the head of the grocery department, with a term of service, extending from that 23rd of October, 1860, of over forty years broken only by a few months in 1873: a connection that reflects equal credit on Mr. Wilson and the management of the Society.

On Monday, November 5th, the building committee met to consider plans for a three storey building, submitted by Mr. Horsfall, and decided on the motion of Mr. Jo Foreman seconded by Mr. John Chaffier, that the building should be, not three, but four storeys high. The Board also came to the conclusion that in future "no trust" should be allowed in any new store opened, and "that all trust in the old stores be discontinued soon as practicable, say 1st May, 1861, carried." They also raised the wages of David Tempest and Dan Coton, the store keepers, to 23s. each a week; and voted the Secretary £3 10s. 0d. for his three weeks and two days time spent in posting up the accounts of the Society—which there is little doubt were generally much behind at this period.

There was nothing of moment in the proceedings of the 20th half-yearly meeting, held in the Temperance Hall, November 19th, 1860, except that Mr. Job Whiteley, who was ultimately to play a prominent part in a later and very anxious period of the Society's history, made his first appearance on the Board of Directors, coming in at the head of the poll with 260 votes, Mr. Lemuel Clayton coming next with 249, Henry Sunderland, Barrett Mitchell, Jeremiah Olive, and E. Pennington being the others. Mr. Ben Wrigley was also appointed president for the ensuing six months; Mr. Samuel Holden, secretary; and Mr. Ben Walshaw, treasurer.

This meeting also decided that a dividend of 10d. in the pound should be paid, and that the "reserve fund" of £23 and the undivided profits of the last half-year be "applied to educational purposes," which probably meant in propagating the principles of co-operation amongst the people of Halifax.

The Board spent the remaining month of the year in pushing on the building operations for the new Central stores; in viewing, taking, and adapting suitable premises for a branch at Illingworth; in enrolling new members, each week; and ended their important and arduous year's work by deciding to build, if necessary, new and more commodious premises at King Cross; by electing 87 new members; and by resolving "That the Boothtown branch should have a water tap in the seller for the purpose of washing currants."

And so, amid the careful consideration of a jumble of large interests and of little ones, ends the tenth year of the Society, and what may be considered the first period of its history. That period had seen the modest commencement, by a few earnest working men, of an attempt to remedy by their own unaided efforts, some, at least, of the evils under which they were living ; had shown those efforts, begun in a cottage house on the scanty scrapings, from the equally scanty earnings of a few disappointed political enthusiasts, who, having lost faith in the never fulfilled promises of the politicians and statesmen, had determined to rely on their own brains, their own exertions, and the old proverb which says ‘ God helps them who help themselves ; ’ and to strive to achieve by those means, the social, political, and intellectual ideals so sincerely longed and laboured for.

We have seen them struggle with Yorkshire tenacity and pluck, against difficulties that were almost disasters ; have seen them stand shoulder to shoulder through a long period of great depression, when failure stared them in the face ; and have seen them at last able to look back on their past dangers with the proud satisfaction of at last seeing their hopes blossom into fulfilment. Their 60 members have become 1,300, their thirty odd pounds of capital had become £4,000, their profits have swelled from some seven pounds a year to nearly eight hundred ; their share of the Foundry Street cottage had swelled into five shops and a new store, building, in the cellar of which their first premises could easily be hidden ; and all this by their own exertions, and without bating a jot of their honest principles and their high ideals, and with the comforting reflection that far greater successes, and more stable prosperity awaited them.

That in brief was the result of the first ten years of effort, at the end of the first period of the history of what was henceforth to be called the Halifax Co-operative Industrial Society ; and it is a result that it is difficult to look back upon without something like a feeling of envy for the feelings of the poor, despised, political and social dreamers, who had at last seen their dreams on the point of realization.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND PERIOD, FROM 1861 TO THE END OF 1870.

Date.	Members.	Capital. £	Sales. £	Profit. £	Dividend.	
					1st half	2nd half
1861	2,412	11,531	41,379	2,570	1/4	1/4
1862	3,210	17,959	74,995	5,646	1/5	1/6
1863	4,300	27,509	112,080	9,487	1/8	1/8
1864	5,200	37,002	121,765	10,839	1/10	1/8
1865	5,700	46,882	147,443	12,541	1/8	1/8

THE Board meeting held on New Year's Day, 1861, commences the second period of this history, which proved to be one of ever widening success and prosperity. In every year from the end of 1860 to the end of the next ten years, there was a constant advance. The membership, the capital of the Society, the business done, and the profits made, each grew larger with each balance sheet issued. Darker days were to come, but this decade showed no signs of them, and the tide of prosperity rose steadily higher and higher, until those who watched it had begun to think it could never cease rising. At the end of 1860 the membership stood at 1,374; at the end of 1870 it had become 6,614. The capital rose from £4,084 to £107,976; the sales from £16,875 to £181,597; and the profits from £787 to £14,380, an increase of nearly twenty times the amount that had afforded the fathers of the movement such unbounded satisfaction. The first business done by the Board, on the New Year's Day of 1861, was the election of 42 new members, a good augury for the coming year, and one calculated to put the Board and the Society in a good humour. And yet it is evident that even in those days the general satisfaction was not entirely unalloyed, as one of the first decisions arrived at by the Board was that a box be placed in some conspicuous place in the shop, for members to deposit complaints in.

There was also, at the very next meeting, an intimation to the committee of the Ovenden store, that their "request for an advance of the store-keeper's wages cannot be entertained at present, nor will the Board pledge themselves to any time when he shall be favoured with such an advance." The directors also decided "to insure in two offices for £500 in each, in addition to the £1,000 we are already insured for," and to purchase an iron safe for the preservation of the books of the Society; and also appointed two of their number, Henry Sunderland and John Brier to look after and purchase a good second-hand canal boat

for the conveyance of the Company's coals. And these gentlemen not only succeeded in finding and purchasing a satisfactory vessel, of about one-horse power, but actually received the thanks of the Board, and the sum of six and ninepence between them for expenses, for doing so.

Then another committee was appointed "to examine the flour shop with a view to make a butcher's shop therein, and report at next meeting." Apparently they carried out this duty, though there is no record of their having done so, except a resolution passed a week later: "Proposed by Ben Walshaw, seconded by John Brier, that the seller under the flour shop be converted into a butcher's shop past." Next David Tempest was ordered to go to Manchester Exchange with a view to ascertain "if any advantage could be gained by purchasing grocery direct instead of buying through the commercial travellers sent round," and it was ordered "that Mr. Richard Horsfall prepare a sketch and plans for a store and dwellinghouse at King Cross," and that the erection of such buildings should be at once proceeded with.

A little later the Board received a deputation of influential citizens from Siddal, who were desirous of a branch store for that straggling locality. As this may be taken as a fair sample of the proceedings in similar cases, and as the particulars have been supplied, for the purposes of this history, by Mr. John Shaw, who took a prominent part in the negotiations, was president of the Society in the following year, and is still a genial, stalwart, and hearty denizen of the Siddal heights, his recollections are certainly worth preserving.

The prayers of the deputation were at first but coldly received by the Board, and the citizens of Siddal were told that unless they could guarantee a turnover of £70 a week their request could not be entertained, and the hardy mountaineers retired to consider themselves. They again crossed the river, and reproached the Board with a want of energy and enterprise, promised to do all in their power to make the branch a success, but declined to guarantee what they considered the exorbitant turnover demanded of them. This time they were requested to consider what they *could* guarantee, and returned to their hills to canvass the inhabitants of Siddal.

"There were only," says Mr. John Shaw, "112 houses in Siddal at that time, though they covered a very wide space, which has since been a good deal filled up. We canvassed 111 out of the 112 houses, and should have done the other only it was a bad night for getting about, being very wet, and the man



NORTHOWRAM BRANCH.

was gone to bed when we got there. We did very well, as we got 74 promises to join, out of the 111 houses." With this result the deputation once more bearded the Board, who at last capitulated by passing a resolution on March 26th, "That a branch be opened at Siddal for the members residing in that locality soon as possible, and that Robert Wade, Ben Walshaw, and Jonathan Brier be appointed to see after the premises set forth by the deputation and report at next Board meeting past." And so Siddal got its branch, which was opened on the 10th of the following May.

All this time the Board were wrestling with the building, fitting, and furnishing of the new stores in Northgate. They were evidently bent on making the new shop as complete as possible, and scarcely a meeting passed at which some more or less important detail did not come up for consideration.

They also had some difficulty with the Income Tax Commissioners, as to the liability of their Society for that Tax, and ultimately succeeded in securing permanent exemption. This was not their only trouble however, as the very next meeting decided on the motion of Joseph Foreman, "that Miss Robson come before the Board next meeting to give some explanation how it happens that she marks the goods so erroneously after being repeatedly warned not to do so carried."

Curiosity as to Miss Robson's reasons for such eccentric marking must for ever remain ungratified, as the matter is not further mentioned. But as Miss Robson's salary was reduced from 17 - to 12/- a week, a little later, and her services dispensed with soon after, it is to be inferred her explanations—if such were given—did not entirely satisfy the Board.

Then came the half-yearly meeting, in the Odd Fellows' Hall, May 16th, when the citizens of Siddal once more came over the border, and took a stern retribution on the dilatory directors and drowsy trustees who had flouted them. This they did by proposing and carrying "that John Chaffer, Ben Aaron, and Jonathan Brier be removed from their office as trustees, and that Joseph Nichol, W. Walton, and John Pitchforth take their places." They also got two or three men on the Board, including Mr. John Shaw, and proceeded to enliven things all round. At this meeting Mr. Ben Wrigley retired from the presidency, and was succeeded by Mr. Jas. Whitehead.

Mr. Job Whiteley and Mr. John Shaw became the book committee, and found, as Mr. Shaw says, that the books were in very much of a muddle, and set about putting them straight.



B. BRAS. SC.

OVENDEN BRANCH.

And this, though Mr. Ben Wrigley had, at the half-yearly meeting, been voted the munificent sum of fifty shillings "for posting up the books for the last twelve months." It was too, at this meeting, May 22nd, that the name of the Society became "The Halifax Co-operative Industrial Society."

The next important decision of the Board was its engagement of Mr. Leonard Storey, to act as clerk for the Society, on the motion of Mr. Job Whiteley, seconded by Mr. John Shaw, in one of the longest resolutions ever passed by the Board. He was to have £70 per annum, and to commence his duties on Monday, July 29th, provided his bonds were satisfactory. His duties, as recorded in the rest of this resolution, were:

"To take all members' contributions and keep a ledger account of each member. 2nd that he keep a ledger account of each Branch and the Central Store. 3rd that he attend at the the office not later than 9 o'clock in the morning for business, and that he shall each evening be at the Store at closing time to count up all cash received during the day at the Central Stores. 4th and that he pay all tradesmen's bills, and that we either give or take one month's notice before he leaves our employ carried."

And from that Monday morning in July, 1860, with the exception of a short break, to be afterwards mentioned, Mr. Storey has served the Society with untiring patience and conspicuous ability, until the September of 1900, when he retired to take the rest his forty years of hard work had earned him.

In this engagement can be seen the determination of Job Whiteley and John Shaw, that in future the business of the Society should be conducted on thoroughly business lines, and not on the slovenly methods previously considered good enough, by which the books had been "posted up" by a member of the Board for a whole year for fifty shillings; not it is to be feared without both confusion and loss to the Society. A decision that the store-keepers should be paid by results was no doubt due to the same men. By this decision store-keepers whose weekly receipts were less than £55 would receive weekly wages of 21/-, with a rise of sixpence for every extra £5 of weekly takings up to £105, for which the wages would be 28/-. As the store-keepers were in future also to pay rent, varying from 2/6 to 1/- per week, and for coals, it can safely be said that they were not overpaid for their labour and responsibility, or that the Board were at all reckless in their generosity.

This latter fact is further proved by a resolution setting forth "that Mary Jane Tempest have 1½d. an hour for cleaning



AKROYDON BRANCH.

at the Northgate store when she is requested to come. She shall give notice to the clerk when she commences, and likewise when she goes away." The resolution following this is "That the mottoes be printed as read on the tea and tobacco papers," but, unfortunately, those mottoes are not included in the minute. "A penny saved is a penny gained," and "Be just though you are not generous," would perhaps not have been inappropriate under the circumstances.

The new stores in Northgate were opened on the 23rd of October, and the opening celebrated by a tea party on the 5th of November, though the minute book is silent on both events. It was however decided that "a notice be hung in the new shop stating that smoking be strictly prohibited, and that parties having been served are respectfully requested to retire." And then at the general half-yearly meeting, where Mr. Sam Holden was again elected secretary, and Mr. James Whitehead president, it was decided "that the directors use all means possible to amalgamate with either the Halifax or Sowerby Bridge Flour Society, and then to report to the members." And that resolution—which was never carried into effect—and a vote of thanks to the directors, closed the meeting, and may fitly close this brief account of a very successful year.

1862 is mainly noticeable for the continued rising of the tide of prosperity, and for the business-like efforts of the Board, more particularly Messrs. John Shaw and Job Whiteley, to put the rapidly expanding business on a sound, workmanlike basis. These two men, together with Mr. Storey, seem to have been constantly at work devising means for the better regulation of the business done by the Society, in devising ingenious methods for showing the income and outgo, the work done and the profit made in each department, so that it should be possible at any moment, to check the accounts of any servant, or the business of any department. Their intention seems to have been, by a carefully devised system of books, to stop muddle and confusion here and there, and loss and leakage wherever they were found.

For instance, to give a couple of examples, it was decided, Jan. 10th, "that in future no drapery be purchased by either foreman or assistant, unless sanctioned by the drapery committee, and the retail price be written on the invoice and submitted for the committee's approval. The committee also to give instructions where the goods shall be bought." As this was followed by a resolution "that Mr. — be paid a month's wages and his services dispensed with to-morrow," it may be assumed that these lynx-eyed members of the Board had detected



HOPWOOD LANE BRANCH.

one of those financial ills that even co-operative flesh is heir to.

The other example was a decision that no books, bills, circulars, or other printing and stationery, be printed for this Society until proof-sheets for the same have been seen and endorsed with the signatures of the book committee. The schemes for special books, and the ingenious devices for giving the Board proper control of all the commercial and financial strings of the Society, must have occupied a good deal of the time of the Board, and have had a correspondingly good effect on the morale of the staff and the prosperity of the Society.

In addition to this the Board were mainly employed in getting ready and opening new stores, of which, when the Prescott Street store was opened in January and Skircoat Green on April 7th, there were ten in full operation, and others in contemplation.

Looking through the minutes for this period, it appears that the Northowram committee were inclined to be rebellious, for they are "summoned to appear before this Board before they make any alterations in the little chamber." They appear not only to have obeyed this order but also to have behaved reasonably before the higher powers, as it is recorded the following week "that the Northowram store committee be allowed to make such alterations in the little chamber as will make the committee comfortable."

Though the directors thus approved of moderate comfort, they evidently did not propose to encourage laziness, as they decided "that we pay for no flour carrying home purchased from this Society, except for infirm people."

Then, after more devices for improving the stock and market books, comes this singular resolution, "that a subscription be opened to support F—— W—— against arrest by Tempest detective of the Halifax Police force, on suspicion of breaking into Ramsden's corn shop and robbing the till, and that this Board will render every assistance to carry on the prosecution." How the Board proposed to help F. W. against the minions of the law, by doing all in their power to assist the prosecution, remains to this day a dark unfathomable mystery, which is never likely to be explained.

Next we find it decided "that Mr. John Shaw's plan of voting be adopted for the Society's officers at the half-yearly meeting." And even that does not end the calls upon this versatile member; for he was appointed, along with Mr. Miles Dyson and Mr. John Smith, to alter the defective crane forthwith." There appears to have been a limit to his usefulness,



KING CROSS BRANCH.

however, for it was resolved that two members of the Board "be empowered to buy a horse if they can meet with one suitable for this Society," and Mr. Shaw was not one of them; that duty being handed over to Messrs. Walshaw and Walton, who may or may not have had relations in the horse trade.

It was next decided, after much negotiation, that the Society should take 100 shares in the Sowerby Bridge Flour Society, and that the next purchase of flour should be 100 packs from that Society; this being the first transaction between the two co-operative bodies.

And then a majority of the Board, in their reforming zeal, appear to have obtained the passing of a rule that almost made the life of a director unbearable. This was "that in future the Board buy *all* goods for this Society. And the following minutes of the next meeting are a sample of the Board meetings that followed this resolution :

"Resolved that we purchase of Thos. Holgate, Bradford, 20 barrels of currants, No. 48 sample, at 32/- per cwt. That we purchase one crate of eggs from Dublin. That we purchase 3 barrels of paraffin oil from Manchester. That we purchase 4 doz. best lading cans from Shines. Also 12 boxes of washing powder from Williamson, of Rochdale. Also 4 doz. broom heads, best, and 4 doz. of weed brooms, 4 doz. of best blacking brushes at 11/- per doz., 4 doz. at 10/-, all of John Smith, Halifax. That we purchase 12 doz. of preserves from Frayer & Co., Manchester, and 10 boxes each of rock cocoa and homeopathic ditto, from Taylor Bros., London. That we purchase 1,040 lbs. of fresh butter, and write for samples of best mottled and blue mottled soap, to be here on Friday next, with the list of prices. That we purchase 10 boxes of seed biscuits of Rigby, and that the cost and retail price books of the branches be kept here, and that all goods be sent to branch stores at retail price only."

This new departure of the Board proved beyond their strength, and even had their knowledge as buyers been adequate—which it certainly was not—the time at their disposal would have been far too short for the work they had thus undertaken. It seems strange that men, who had only a very limited quantity of leisure time, should have thus lightly undertaken a task requiring special knowledge and undivided attention; and should have suspended, for a few weeks even, their proper functions as directors, while they undertook a task quite beyond their powers and opportunities. That they worked hard there is no doubt, for in April alone the Board held eleven meetings, some of which lasted



B. Bros. Sec.

ILLINGWORTH BRANCH.

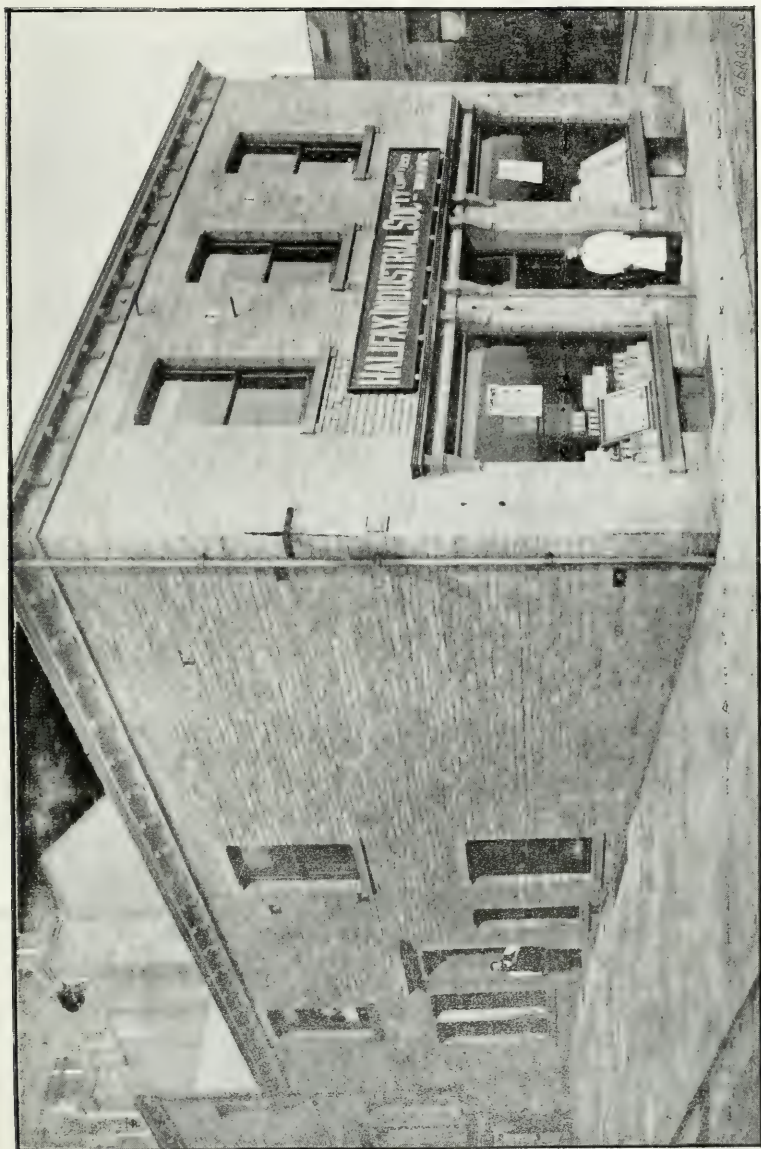
into the early hours of the morning. In the two following months these energetic men met four and five evenings every week, and wrestled, in their shirt sleeves, with samples of mixed pickles, furkin butter, improved peggy tubs, and patent night lights; in addition to the thousand and one details of the Central and branch management, the consideration of extensive schemes and building plans, and the stocktaking, auditing, and general arrangements for the half-yearly meeting and election. And all this without a penny of pay, and but little thanks, for their untiring industry.

The task proved beyond them, and after the half-yearly meeting, when Mr. John Shaw was elected president, Mr. Sam Holden re-elected secretary, the trustees reappointed, and Messrs. Tom Batty, Job Hesseldine, W. Thompson, David Wadsworth, and that sturdy old Chartist, Ben Wilson, joined the Board, they wisely capitulated, and appointed a manager, one Mr. Jefferys, who was highly recommended for the situation.

Of this the minute books make no mention, as the earliest book now existing ends with the half-yearly meeting on May 14th, 1862, and the next available, commences with Feb. 19th, 1863, by which date Mr. Jefferys had left, and Mr. John Shaw had ceased to be president. Mr. Shaw's recollections of this missing nine months are however ample, and would fill many pages of this book very pleasantly. But space is limited, and the bare facts only can be recorded. Mr. John Jefferys, who had been in business in Halifax previously, was an able and energetic man, but not one who could readily adapt himself to a subordinate position. This led to friction with some of the directors, who considered Mr. Jefferys took too much upon himself, and paid too little deference to the opinions of the Board. Mr. Shaw took the part of Mr. Jefferys, maintained that he was a capable and honest servant; made a cabinet question of his retention; and resigned when the Board decided to dismiss their manager. These events which really occurred in January, 1863, ended Mr. Shaw's brief but useful official connection with the Society.

The year may be fitly ended with a report of the conference of co-operative delegates held at Halifax on Dec. 13th, copied from Mr. Holyoake's little book, before alluded to:

"This conference was for the purpose of comparing samples of tea, coffee, sugar, butter, lard, currants, figs, raisins, rice, syrups, cheese, soaps and tobacco, supplied by 46 London firms. Nine different societies were represented: Halifax, Cragg Vale, Mytholmroyd, Triangle, Stainland, Brighouse, Batley Carr,

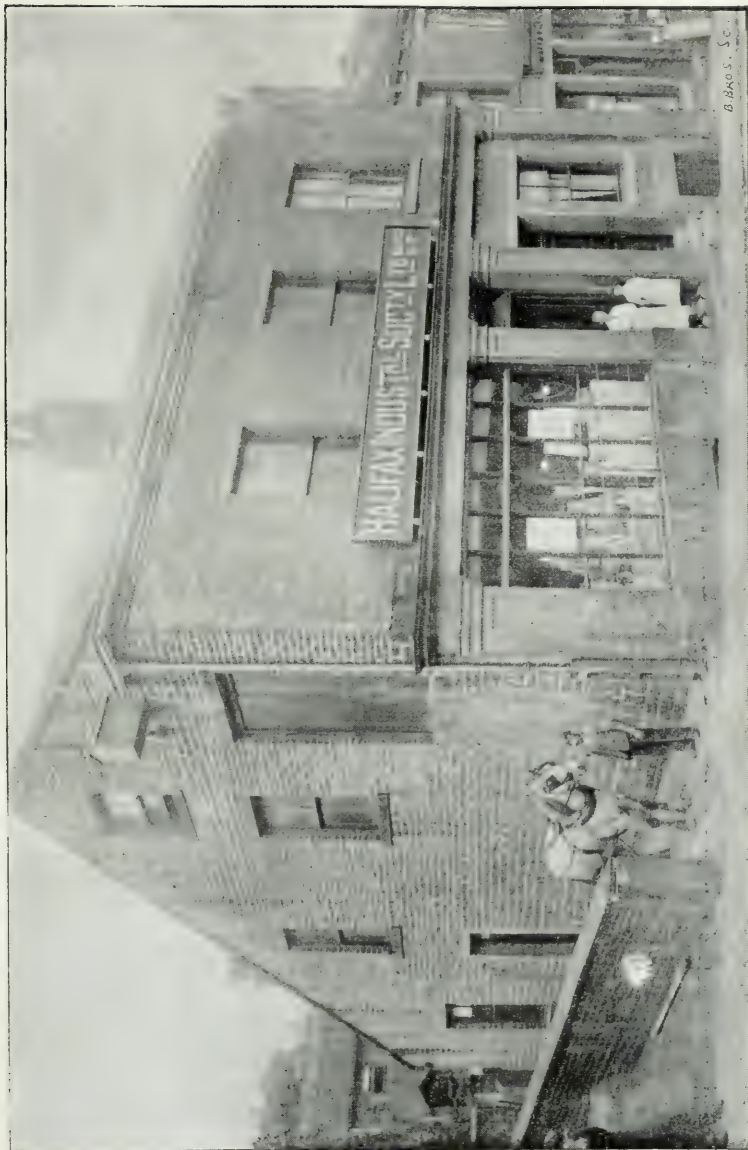


SIDDAI BRANCH.

Bradford and Mirfield Lane. Mr. John Shaw, the Halifax president, was in the chair, and the following were the judges: Mr. John Jefferys, manager of the Halifax Society; Mr. Joseph Hudson, Bradford; Mr. Jessop, Brighouse; Mr. W. Inson, Batley Carr; and Mr. John Bentley, Bradford Provident; who considered the samples before them. It was not long ago that leading provision dealers would have nothing to do with co-operators, as they openly proclaimed. And now here were forty-six houses attending personally, or by proxy, upon a purchasing conference of co-operative working men." Truly the whirligig of time brings many changes, and, as this history will show, had still many more to bring.

Getting back to the solid ground of the second minute book which commences with February 19th, 1863, we find that Mr. Job Whiteley had become president, and Mr. Joseph Bairstow secretary. The property of the Society was still increasing. There were now eleven branches in operation, and at the half-yearly meeting in June the directors not only congratulated the members on their increased prosperity, but announced with evident satisfaction in their report, that "Our present premises are too small for the requisite business of the Society, and to remedy the defect, we have purchased the adjoining building plot for the extension of the premises which will be completed during the present year." They also announce that this building will be so arranged as to prevent the confusion which prevails, especially on busy days.

The records of the Board meetings still show the directors hard at work, amongst the manifold duties and difficulties of a large and varied business. At their second meeting, on February 21st, Mr. Ainley, branch store keeper at Illingworth, is requested to attend on Monday next, "To answer such questions as the Board may think proper to ask him, touching the management of this Society." Few will recognise in this Mr. Ainley—who seems to have been impatient of too rigid control—the late Dr. Ainley, whose death occurred while this book was being written. What questions the Board asked Mr. Ainley and what answers he gave can only be guessed at, as the following resolution, passed after his visit to the Board room—"That Mr. Ainley be written with respect to returning tins and ordering others unknown to the directors"—envelopes the anxious enquirer in a cloud of impenetrable darkness. It can only be assumed that Mr. Ainley was still contumacious, for it was resolved on March 28th, "That the resolution dismissing Mr. Ainley be confirmed;" and further, the Illingworth committee were reprimanded by the Board for



B. BROS. S.C.

GREENLAND BRANCH.

pressing his re-engagement, as compliance with such a request "would scarously interfere with the duties of the Board in representing the interests of the Society." And so ended Mr. Ainley's connection with the Halifax Industrial Society, and with it, the insurrection at Illingworth.

Nor was this the only trouble the directors had to contend with, for their excursions into the horse trade seem to have been attended with much anxiety and some loss. The atmosphere of the stable permeates the minutes of this period, as the following few extracts will show :

"Resolved that the horse on trial from Mr. Turner be returned to him."

"Resolved that Mr. Turner have his horse back at once."

"Resolved that Mr. Storey write Mr. Turner for the money paid for the horse which has been returned."

"Resolved that the grey mare be kept to play for a few weeks and another horse be bought with a guarantee."

"Resolved that Job Hesselden and Ben Wilson be empowered to buy one."

"Resolved that a new collar be bought for the new horse the coal committee to see to it."

"Resolved that the cart driver that had the grey mare has the new horse."

"Resolved that the black horse play a few days and have some physic the coal committee to look to it."

"Resolved that the horse last purchased be returned to Mr. Turner."

Whether the grey mare recovered, the black horse was the better for his physic, and Mr. Turner disgorged his ill-gotten gains, shall be left to the imagination of the reader. Enough has been given, from the minutes of two brief months, to show that the Board at this time were deriving little pleasure or profit from the horse trade, although a notice was posted in the window of the store setting forth "That we have a quantity of manure to sell further information to be had at the Board room next Thursday night."

The Sowerby Bridge Flour Society seem to have made but a poor return for the previous favours showered upon them, and the further sum of £3,000 offered them, which they were at liberty either to take as a loan or an investment; for the very next week, at a special Board meeting called for the branch managers to lay their views before the Board, the first subject discussed was the habit of the Flour Society of "sending in our orders as soon as possible when the market is declining, and then informing us



B. B. & Co. S. C.

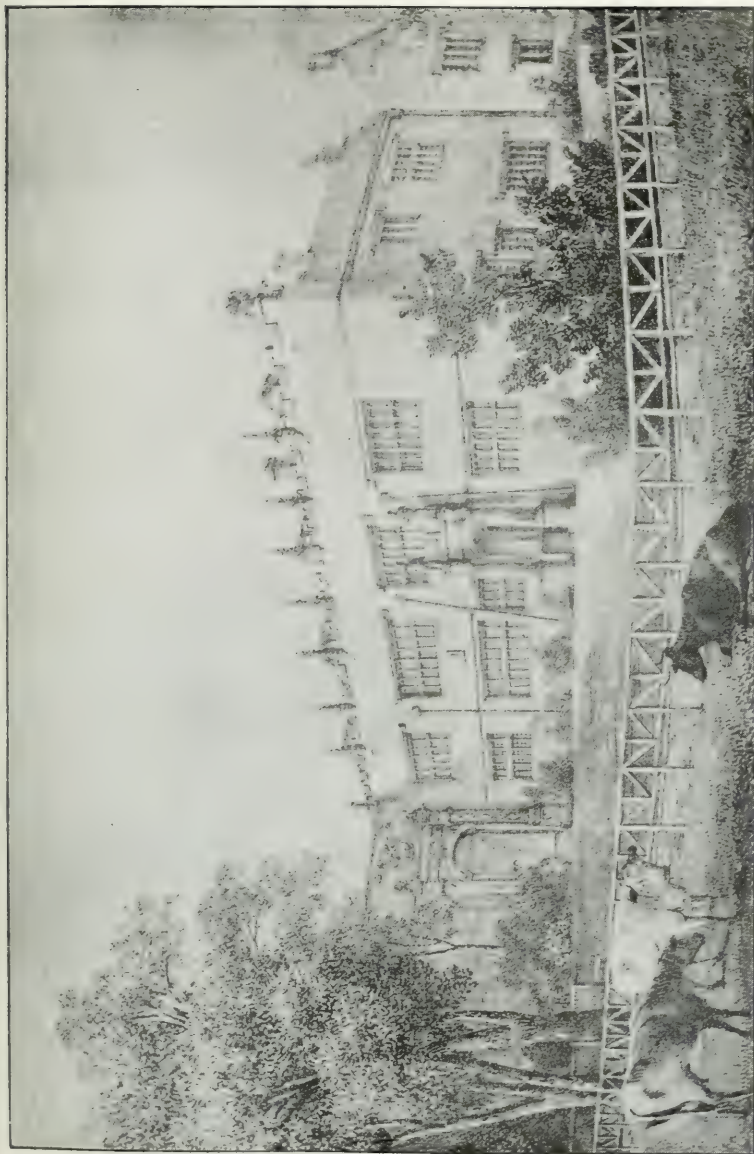
Mr. EDMUND WOOD (President).

of the decline;" and some six months later, the Board not only had to complain about "bits coming off the sacks into the flour," but had also to request that "the profits due to us may be forwarded without further delay."

About this time too, another vexation afflicted the Board, for on May 25th, it resolved "That the month's notice of Mr. Storey be accepted." That gentleman left, in fact, to better himself, and was replaced by a Mr. Smith. This break in Mr. Storey's connection with the Society was only brief however, as he was re-engaged during a visit to Halifax in the Christmas holidays—the resolution being dated December 25th, 1863—at the increased salary of £90 per annum, which was shortly raised to £100, with many subsequent increases which may be subsequently specified.

During the first half of this year the directors had, as they mentioned in their June report, "put in a three-horse high pressure steam engine, for grinding coffee and hoisting goods; we have found this to be a great benefit to the Society." The Board resolved that this engine should be named "Perseverance;" and decided in the next minute "that Mr. Dyson be ordered to put No. 4 burners on the gaspipes in the drapery department." Thus did these untiring directors—who thoroughly deserved the name they conferred upon their new engine—attend with equal zeal to the business before them, from three-horse high pressure steam engines to No. 4 gas burners. And this year, for the first time, the Society recognised the services rendered by its directors, by voting them the sum of £22 10s. 0d. to share amongst them, from the £9,400 of profit their labours had done so much to earn. Perhaps by way of celebrating this new departure, the directors decided "That we have a supper (the present Board and the last) at John Lawson's Standard of Freedom Inn, Skircoat Green," which let us hope was a social and convivial success.

And then, as the last act of the last meeting of the year, they decided "that we advertise in the winder for a boy from 14 to 16 years of age apply on Thursday 7th January at 8 o'clock non need apply under 14 nor above 16" also "that we pay 9d in the pound on all non-members cheques"—neither of which resolutions are in the handwriting of the general secretary, but none the less interesting on that account. And here it may be once for all explained that the quotation of these unconventional records, just as they stand in the early books of the Society, is not for the sake of making cheap and easy fun of them; but simply for the purpose of showing as far as possible, from their own records of their own acts, what manner of men these were



HIGH SUNDERLAND.

who had succeeded in spite of every disadvantage, in founding, managing and extending a large and flourishing business. It is easy for the superficial observer to smile at their imperfect composition and their experimental business methods; but it is impossible not to admire the pluck, energy, and sterling common sense that carried them triumphantly over every obstacle.

At the 26th half-yearly meeting, held in the Odd Fellows' Hall on the 23rd of January, 1864, the directors, in their report, after congratulating the members on making a profit of £4,250 15s. 4½d., proposed that, after paying a dividend of 1s.8d. in the pound, the balance of undivided profit, £471 16s. 2d., should be devoted to reduction of fixed stock; this recommendation was adopted. The report also said "Your committee have nearly completed the new buildings in Northgate, and hope they will soon be ready for business." And this report, like the two or three that followed it, is for some reason signed "Benjamin Culpan, manager," instead of by the president and directors. Looking over the balance sheet we find the "secretary's salary, £2," while the four auditors get £20 between them, and the president and directors £22 10s. 0d. It also appears that at this time the Society had £1,000 invested in the Sowerby Bridge Flour Society, and only £200 in the Halifax one, while it is clear from the bonus of £821 received from the former, and £4 15s. 0d. from the latter, that Sowerby Bridge and not Halifax was the favourite at this time. Amongst other items on the balance sheet is a sum of £10 spent in decorations on the Prince of Wales's visit; of £5 given to the Infirmary; of 5s.10d. spent in cat's meat, which, as there was as yet no butcher's shop on the premises, was not an extravagant outlay on even one cat, being in fact less than one halfpenny a day.

There was no contest for the directorship, as Messrs. Joshua Tetlaw and Ben Wilson, the only nominations, were elected without opposition. Mr. Job Whiteley appears to have left the Board, and Mr. Joseph Greenwood took his place as president; Mr. Joseph Bairstow being re-elected as secretary.

Early in the year the Board turned their attention to butchering, advertising in the Leeds, Manchester, and local papers, for a competent butcher. They also appointed a deputation to go and look at some vacant farms, with a view to commencing that business also. This committee reported in favour of High Sunderland, which was taken on lease in March, and turned out a very useful if not a particularly profitable undertaking.

Of the farm here alluded to, which was taken of Mr. Sutherland Walker, on a 14 years' lease, at a rent of £160 a year, Mr.



Mr. A. B. CARTER (Secretary).

Holyoake rather grandiloquently says "On a spacious plateau, about a mile from the town, in the midst of noble scenery of valley and hill, "High Sunderland," the farm of the co-operators, is situated, from which you get just sufficient glimpses of the town to make you glad you are out of it, and so much of the rough splendour of nature as to make you glad you are in its midst. The farm-house is a large quaint stone building, three centuries old, ornamented with old figures. Smiling corn fields and slopes of trotting sheep welcome the co-operators on their visit to the farm."

These sylvan beauties do not seem to have affected Ben Wilson, for in *his* book he says, "At this time High Sunderland was to let, and, as we were commencing the butchering business, it was thought to be just the place to erect"—oh, poetry!—"a slaughterhouse of our own. So we built a slaughterhouse, and made a large tank for the refuse, which formed good tillage for the farm."

Whether the directors as a body took a poetical view of their suburban acquisition cannot be stated; but they certainly passed a resolution about this time "That the farming committee see Mr. Wood at High Sunderland with respect to having put pigs in our pigsty and report to the Board next Monday," which is less suggestive of a sentimental than a practical view of the subject.

It would appear also that the Board were already getting embarrassed with surplus capital, for an offer was made, about this time, to advance one or two thousand each, on loan, to the Halifax and Sowerby Bridge Flour Societies. Further, a special meeting was called in May "To take into consideration the propriety of altering our rules, with a view to commencing manufacturing, or some other branch of business with our surplus capital, or investing it in some other Society." This meeting was held, and passed a very long resolution, appointing a special committee, and exhorting them "by diligent enquiry and investigation," to discover "the best and most beneficial mode of investing the surplus capital," whether in manufacturing, in cottage houses, or by paying out shareholders of from £100 to £200 in the Society. Also to present to the next half-yearly meeting a return of those holding more than the qualifying number of shares and the amount they severally spent at the stores. This return, when presented, showed that some 200 members had from £50 to £200 each invested in the Society's shares, of whom about 50 held from £100 to £200 each. The amount they spent in the stores was not, it appears, ascertained.



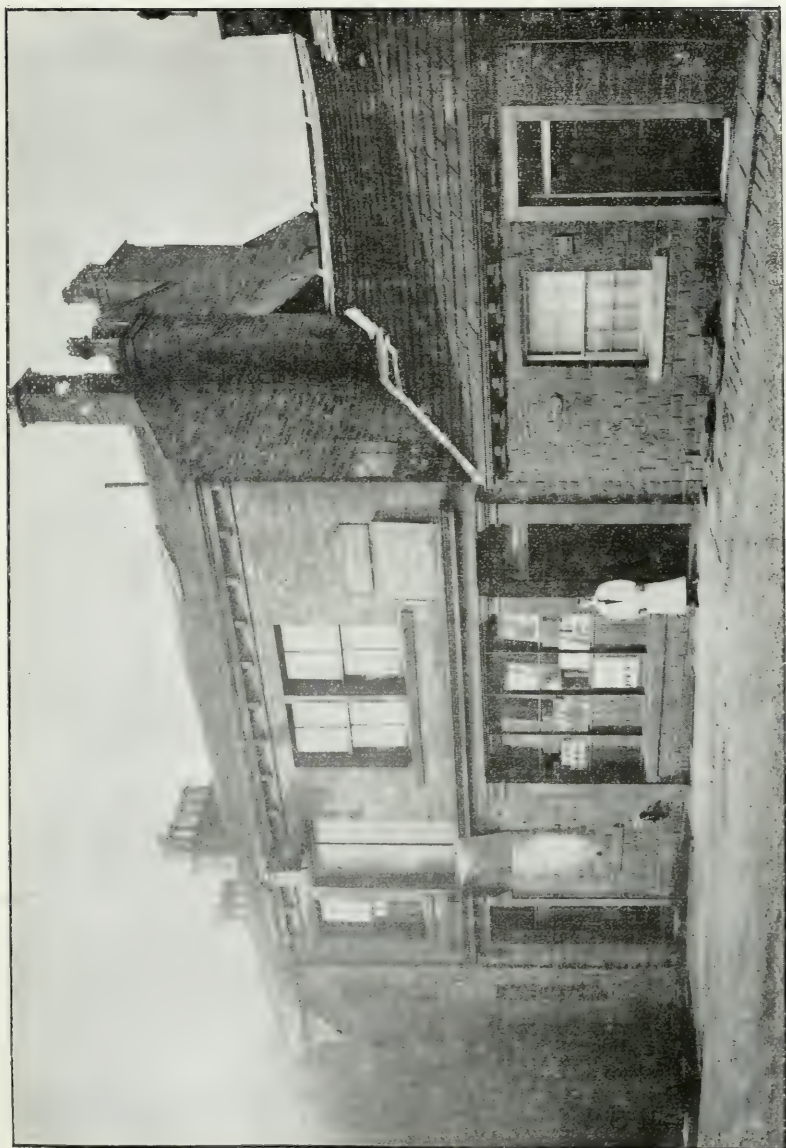
PRESCOTT STREET BRANCH.

This committee duly deliberated, and recommended the half-yearly meeting "to commence the manufacture of pieces for the Bradford market," and that the rules be so altered as to allow this undertaking. These resolutions were both agreed to, and the Board at its next meeting appointed the president, Messrs. Thos. Leach, Wm. Smith, Joshua Tetlaw, J. Earnshaw, George Dawson, and the secretary a committee "to enter into the manufacturing business, but to report frequently to the Board."

And thus the directors made what proved to be another bad shot in their endeavour to make a profitable use of capital that could not be disposed of in their ordinary business. The manufacturing was not a success; and its non-success and the attempt to recover the money lost, had far reaching and disastrous consequences, that came near wrecking the Society, as later chapters will abundantly show. No new branches had been opened in 1863, and only one on the 3rd of May, 1864, at Wheatley.

The Board also commenced a dining room, in what is now the office of the Society, advertising in the Leeds, Manchester, and local papers for a "competent cook who has been accustomed to cook at a public eating house preferred. Application to be made personally to the Board on Wednesday at 7-30." How many candidates presented themselves is not recorded, but it was certainly resolved, at the next meeting, "that Mary Buckledge be engaged as cook at 10/- a week and to eat on the premises commencing next Monday morning." And thus was Mary elected the first—but alas! very far from the last—cook of the Society, as she had many successors, whose services appear to have been all alike, fleeting and unsatisfactory.

And what more shall be culled from the minute book for this period? There was some trouble with the employees, who were not apparently satisfied with their conditions of work, or with their remuneration. A resolution was passed in April "that should anyone having a till on our premises be wrong when balanced up, more than 3d. either way, over or short, be fined 1/- each time, to be devoted to the distressed members' fund, or be dismissed. Mr. Culpan to inform them all." This drastic remedy, by which a shopman might lose six shillings a week, by a mistake of threepence a day, even in favour of the Society, did not give satisfaction to the servants, and was afterwards modified thus: the fines were to be returned in prizes, at Christmas and Midsummer, to those who were most correct in their balances.



SKIRCOAT GREEN BRANCH.

And still the servants were not happy, for a committee was appointed "to investigate into the grievances of the servants in the eating department, &c., and report to the Board." Another resolution appears, which, as actually worded, meant a great deal more than it was intended to mean, as it ran:—"Resolved that the secretary write a note to each servant of this establishment to say that any person found out of their own department or gambling themselves or being known to allow either any other servant or the public on these premises without giving information of such persons will be immediately dismissed."

The omission of the words "to gamble," which should have come between "the public" and "on these premises," must have completely staggered the servants, as the resolution, as it stood, would have made business almost impossible.

What the above-mentioned special committee reported, as a result of their investigations, is not recorded; but that there was some cause for the discontent is obvious, as the Board resolved "that Mr. C—— be retained in our service and exonerated from criminal blame but that we reprimand him for his conduct towards the servants." There is also another resolution about this time, which was evidently intended to promote industry, but may not have actually done so. It set forth "that all our branch stores be opened punctually at half-past seven in the morning all the year round." A decision which would, in these days at any rate, cost more in gas and fire in the early hours of the winter days, than the gross takings of those hours would amount to.

And then, to finish the year, though the event really took place in July, shall come the resolution appointing "a deputation to wait upon the cavalry band, to see what they will meet our president, Mr. Horsfall, and our attorney for, at the railway station."

To understand why the three gentlemen named should be so received, it is necessary to say that it was on their victorious return from the Court of Chancery, where a trial about some rights in dispute at Skircoat Green, between the Society and Mr. Samuel Rhodes, was decided in favour of the former. Thus the proposal to engage the "cavalry band," who met the Society's triumphant representatives at the railway station, and escorted them to the stores, to the martial strains of "See the conquering hero comes." The details of the dispute would take too long to explain, but it led to the Society's property at Skircoat Green being called "Chancery Terrace," and so it remains to the present moment. The last meeting of the Board was on the last



Mr. T. ILLINGWORTH (Manager).

day of the year, and the last resolution "that we take a $\frac{1}{5}$ for the wholesale price on to ascertain the wholesale price of goods in stock," is vague enough to suggest that the Board had already commenced the celebration of the New Year's festivities.

1865 commenced with a tea party in the Odd Fellows' Hall on Jan. 2nd. For this party it was resolved that Colonel Akroyd be invited to take the chair, and Sir Francis Crossley if the Colonel declined. Ernest Jones, Mr. Potter, of Manchester, and John Stuart Mill were to be invited to speak in the Mechanics' Hall, after tea. Whether any of the gentlemen actually attended is not stated, but Mr. Tetlaw was instructed "to engage persons to play and sing for the young people in the Odd Fellows' Hall," and also "to engage a 1st class female and male singer, to sing in the Mechanics' Hall;" and as 300 pounds of ham and 100 pounds of beef were provided, it is evident that even a very large company need not have gone empty away. This party was to celebrate the opening of the second portion of the Central Stores, which commenced business in the last few weeks of the year. At the meeting in the Mechanics' Hall, which was crowded, Mr. Abel Heywood, of Manchester, was in the chair; neither of the local gentlemen invited being available. The proposed speakers also were not forthcoming, their places being taken by Mr. Lloyd Jones and Mr. G. J. Holyoake.

This was a pleasant beginning for the year, and the 28th half-yearly meeting was an equally pleasant continuation. The prosperity of the Society was still growing, as will be seen from the figures given at the head of this chapter. The directors certainly regretted in their report that the boot and shoe, and the dining room departments, did not flourish as they expected, and said "Your committee are surprised to find from the amount of receipts, that you do not avail yourselves of the advantages they offer." This report also is signed "Benjamin Culpan, manager," although it was clearly composed at a Board meeting, and appears in the minute book, where it is followed by a request "That Mr. Storey will please doctor this report up, if he only keeps the sense." This request Mr. Storey complied with by printing the report almost entirely as the directors had written it. From the balance sheet it appears the freeholds, stocks and other property, after making a liberal allowance for depreciation, stood at £11,441 3s. 5d.—though it seems a pity the shillings and pence could not have been 4s.4d. for the sake of uniformity. It also appears that the Society had now £3,200 invested in the Halifax, and £1,000 in the Sowerby Bridge Societies, and this,



ELLAND BRANCH.

with £500 in the Halifax Quarrying Company, were the sole investments of the Society at that time.

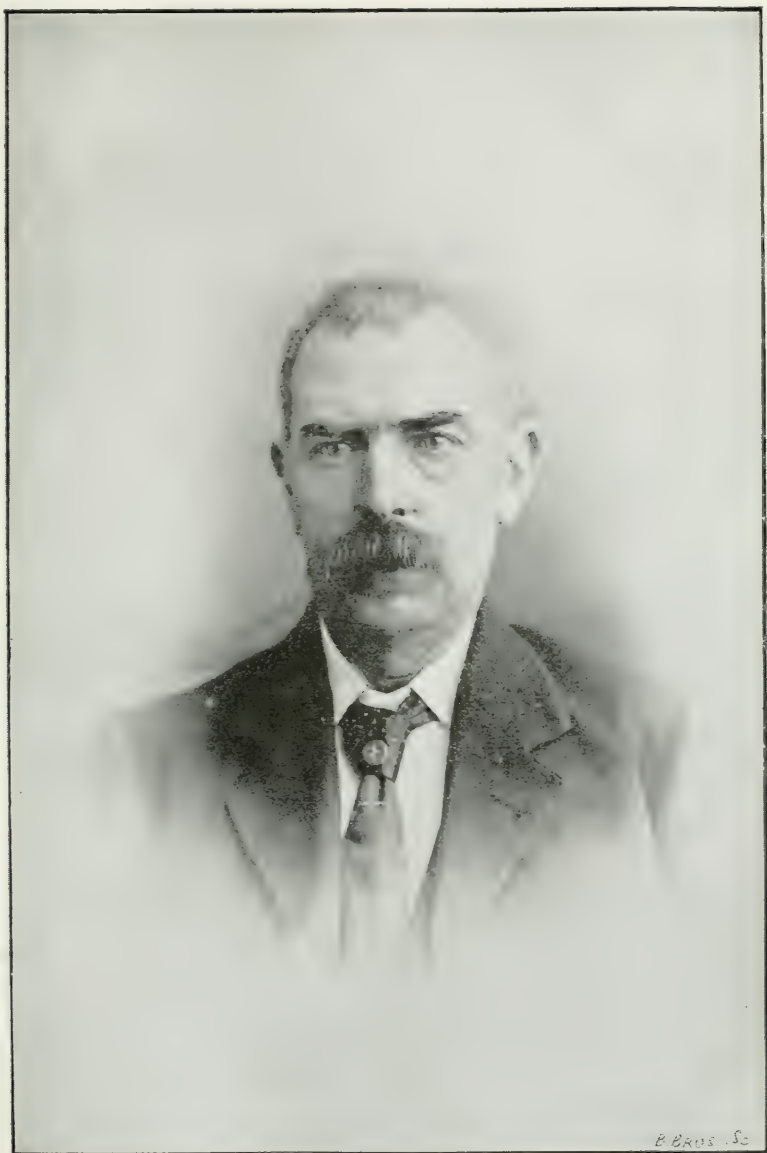
At this meeting it was decided, as the result of considerable previous agitation, that in future all flour sold by the Society should be purchased from the two flour societies, and that members should have whichever they preferred. Mr. Joseph Greenwood was re-elected president, an office which he continued to hold till the January of 1869, and the first important resolution passed was that legal proceedings be taken against one of the branch store-keepers on account of a deficiency in his stock to the extent of £135. The proceedings were taken with no satisfactory result, as after much trouble and expense the peccant servant absconded, and has not since been heard of. These proceedings are just worth this mention, as being one of the very few cases of serious irregularity recorded in the long history of the Society.

It was probably this case that led the directors to insist on the storekeepers finding bonds for their good behaviour. A meeting being held on April 19th at which it is recorded that "the branch secretaries and the following storekeepers attended to conform to the resolution. It is further stated that "Mr. Dixon brought his book with £10 in and £20 in money, S. Wilson brought £35 money, James Dearden brought £50 in money, Dan Coton £35 money, Allan Marshall brought deeds, William Smith brought nothing in addition, Charles Bancroft promised £40 in a fortnight, and D. Pickles promised £50 in a month."

The most important resolution of the year was one passed on June 1st when it was "Resolved that the Book committee get what information they can on the subject of investing money in Joint Stock Companies." That was the sole business done on that evening, and not only took serious consideration, but led ultimately to still more serious consequences.

There seems to have been a great consumption of cooks in the dining room department about this time; resolutions to advertise for new cooks and waiters appearing on the minutes at regular and very frequent intervals. Cooks appear to have come and gone, but none seemed either to give or to find satisfaction.

Here we come to the first definite attempt to commence the manufacturing it had been decided to undertake. This is in a resolution "That we accept the offer of the Pellon Lane Cotton Company, Limited, viz., to run us 50 looms at 1s.1½d. per loom per week on an average, and that Messrs. the president, Leach, Baxendale, Higginbottom, and Fletcher, form a committee to purchase the looms and carry out the scheme of commencing



Mr. H. HELLIWELL (Cashier and Treasurer).

manufacturing." The room taken on the premises of the Cotton Company, was the lower storey of the mill in Pellon Lane that was burnt down last summer. The shed, still standing, on the lower side of the block that "fell a prey to the devouring element," as the newspapers say, was built for the manufacturing experiment of the Industrial Society, and occupied by that Society until they gave up their unsuccessful venture.

This venture ultimately proved a failure, and entailed heavy loss on the Society, as will be shown later. Certainly failure in this, or any other direction, could not be charged to the indifference or inattention of the directors, for they were diligent and constant in their work and attendance. Indeed the two last months of this year their work was almost incessant; three and four meetings being held each week, and over a score of resolutions passed at most of them; that for November 20th covers four pages, and contains 23 resolutions, many of which must have taken long discussion and anxious consideration. One was "That the High Sunderland farm be insured as follows: Agricultural produce £250, cattle thereon £200, horses thereon £300, implements and utensils of husbandry £50, slaughterhouse and barn £400.

This chapter may be fitly closed with the following resolution of the Board, and a quotation from the little book it refers to. The resolution runs as follows "That we accept Mr. G. J. Holyoake's proposal, viz., to furnish him with ten guineas to come down to our stores in Halifax, and get up a paper on "Co-operation in Halifax," to read to the meeting of the National Association for the promotion of Social Science, which meets at York, on condition that he submits the paper to this Board for approval before its being read at York."

This little book, which devotes some twenty pages to the history of the Society, has been previously quoted from, and gives a bright, if somewhat rose coloured, sketch of the Society at the period we have now reached.

"The Society," says Mr. Holyoake, "commenced dealing in coal in 1860, buying a single horse and cart at a cost of £58. In 1861 they bought a boat on the canal at £69. In 1863 they possessed 20 railway trucks costing £1,300, and their eleven horses were worth £150. The redemption of their fixed stock is so rapid that their 20 railway trucks, costing £1,300, were reduced at the end of 1864 to one shilling, though worth £1,100. Their horses, drays, carts, &c., cost £975, and stand on the last balance sheet at £549."



WHEATLEY BRANCH.

"There is a business capacity and spirit of commercial enterprise about the directors which I have not seen exceeded anywhere. There are efficiency, completeness, and finish about their buildings. There is tasteful expenditure without waste; their stores are substantial in appearance, as well as in financial security as a bank; and there is impressed on all their property an appearance of respectability equal to that of any commercial establishment in the county. The books of the Central store show, in parallel columns, the date when goods are received, the description of the goods, their quantity, their cost price, their retail value, the amount received for sales, the leakage in selling, and the stock remaining. It is thought a great thing, and it is a great thing, when a wealthy manufacturer builds a church or presents a park to his neighbours. The co-operators of Halifax, if they proceed as they have done the past six years, will soon be able to build a church quarterly, and to present a park to their neighbours every half-year."

"If," says Mr. Holyoake in the last sentence quoted—which was the last in his eulogy of the Halifax Industrial Society. There is much virtue in an if, as Touchstone sententiously remarked; and this particular "if" was ominous of changes in the near future, of which neither the commercially enterprising directors, nor the far-seeing author who penned it, could perceive a sign in the prospect spread out so alluringly before them. Looking back we can see what to them, looking so hopefully forward, was still invisible; but the churches were never built, and the parks were never presented. For even at the period Mr. Holyoake so eloquently eulogized, Fate was spreading, as it often does, a snare of prosperity before the feet of the unwary.



MOUNT PLEASANT BRANCH.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND PERIOD CONTINUED.

Year.	Members.	Capital. £	Sales. £	Profits. £	Bonns. 1st half 2nd half.	
1866 ..	6,000 ..	60,636 ..	168,222 ..	13,749 ..	1 8	1 7
1867 ..	6,334 ..	71,200 ..	174,457 ..	12,106 ..	1 4	2 0
1868 ..	6,263 ..	85,388 ..	173,689 ..	10,968 ..	2 0	2 0
1869 ..	6,461 ..	94,604 ..	173,751 ..	12,962 ..	2 2	2 1
1870 ..	6,614 ..	107,976 ..	181,597 ..	14,380 ..	2 0	2 0

IN commencing the second part of this period of the Society's history, it may be well to call attention to the subtle changes so surely, if silently wrought by time, in this as in all other human institutions. All unnoticed the change goes on; the night changes to morning, the summer changes to winter, and that again to spring; the grass flourishes where the snow has melted, the buds burst into summer flowers, the butterflies dance in the morning sunshine; and then the voices of the birds are hushed, the woods are cold and wan, the grass withereth, and the flowers fadeth away. And although these changes are wrought before our eyes, we cannot say that here or there the darkness changed to light, the bud became a flower, the girl became a woman; and are often startled when the juggleries of time are accomplished, though we have looked on, without perception, through all the phases of their accomplishment.

So in fifteen years time had worked, and was still working, changes in the aims and ideals of the Halifax Industrial Society, and working them openly before the eyes of those who unconsciously aided them. The men had changed, and the aims were changing. One by one the founders of the Society were taking their hands from the plough, and were being succeeded by other men with other experiences. One by one the sturdy pioneers, who, by sheer pluck and enthusiasm, had striven to realise a fervent idea; who had fought against difficulties in an atmosphere of indifference and contempt; had been followed by younger men who had rallied round the banner of co-operation when that banner was victorious and powerful.

It cannot, of course, be said that on any particular day or in any particular year even, a change came over the aims or methods of the men who guided the Society; but it can be said, and will be proved, that as the men, so the ideas with which the Society started, gave place to other men with other and apparently less exalted notions of the aims and end of co-operation



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MOOR END BRANCH.

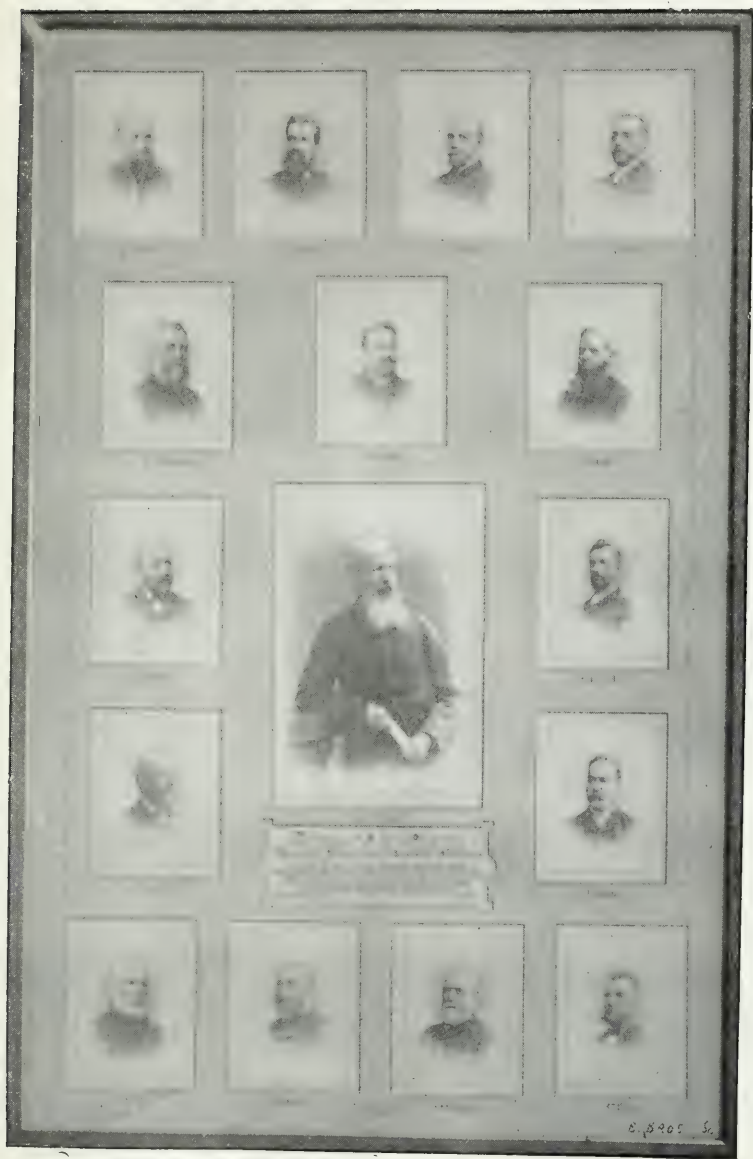
And it is a tolerably safe generalisation to say further that better men will be found amongst the few who fight for a lofty, and for that reason unpopular cause, than amongst the many who flock so readily round a victorious banner.

As Mr. Holyoake said "In 1848 co-operation, which had twice existed in Halifax, had died a natural death. It was not only dead, it was despised. The Chartists were disappointed and despairing; the working classes were sullen and dispirited. If anyone had predicted then that in a few years there would be a social society of working men in Halifax 6,000 strong, possessing £25,000 worth of property, he would have been voted a wilder dreamer than any poet who ever sang of that brighter day of which nobody believed in the dawn."

No doubt the pioneers of co-operation were being superseded, at the period we are now considering, by men with greater social and educational advantages than they had enjoyed. For the builders of the Society's success were not only poor and unlettered men, but men who had lived lives of privation and disappointment. What then was at once the secret of their success, and the difference between them and their more happily situated successors? Simply that though poor, ignorant, disappointed, and despised, they were social and political enthusiasts; and their enthusiasm enabled them to triumph over difficulties that would have daunted men with higher abilities and lower ideals.

What were the aims of the Chartists and Socialists—for many of them were followers of Robert Owen, the social enthusiast—who founded the Society? The desire to raise themselves and their fellows by their own unaided efforts, from the social, educational, and political slough of despond into which the unjust laws, and callous, selfish, and short-sighted law makers, had forced them.

It is not denied that some measure of financial success was their first aim; for they saw that without improved conditions of life they could not hope to better their social, political, or educational position. And that desire for betterment it was that inspired them to persevere against all obstacles. Good work is never wasted, even though it fails to achieve the end the doers aimed at. And though in this case, as in so many others, the earnest enthusiasts passed, one by one, across the dark waters of oblivion, while their highest hopes were still unrealised, they had not laboured in vain, for they had laid a solid foundation upon which who can say what noble structure may yet be erected by the hands of their successors, in the time that is to come?



PICTURE IN THE BOARD ROOM.

And now, with apologies for this digression, let the history proceed.

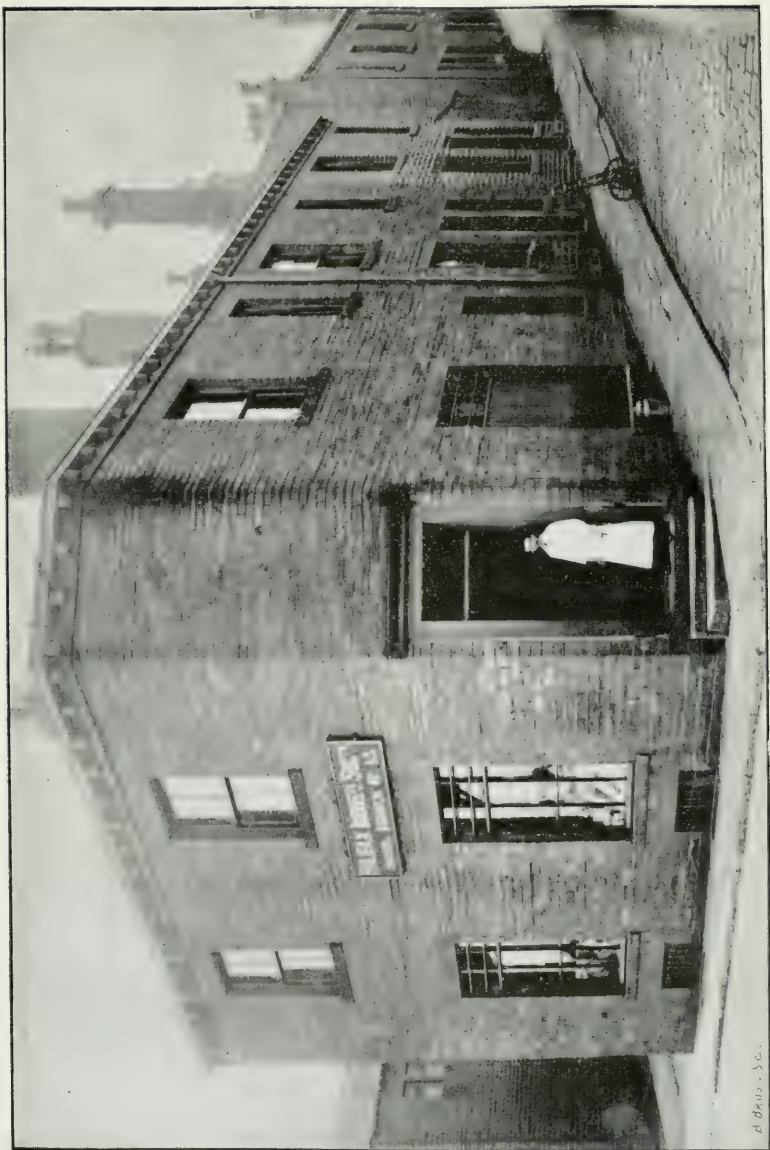
The first resolution of importance passed on the second day of the year, was "That we purchase the plot of ground at the west end of the present building in Northgate, 453 yards for £1,000, £100 to be paid at once, and the rest as early as possible." The second, a few weeks later, "That copies of our balance sheet be sent to Messrs. Gladstone, Bright, Sir Francis Crossley, our two Halifax representatives, Ernest Jones, Abel Heywood, and any other eminent gentleman, *The Working Man's Advocate*, and *The Working Man*."

Why the balance sheet should have been sent to these "eminent gentlemen" the reader is respectfully requested to conjecture, as the writer has no explanation to offer. That the Board had only a limited confidence in some of these gentlemen is shown by a later resolution, which instructs Mr. Storey "to telegraph to Sir Francis Crossley in the morning to ask him if he will present our petition to the House of Commons, and if he will not that Edward Baines, of Leeds, be asked, and if he will not, it be left with our president to deal with as best he can."

Evidently the Board had doubts of the willingness of these gentlemen to do the Society a service; but whether those doubts were justified there is now no need to consider.

And then, once more, that noble animal the horse canters into the Board room, and the Board decides "that we write Robert Howarth to say that if he will not take the horse back which we purchased last, we shall sell him by auction and sue him for the difference in the County Court." Here also the reader must decide, as well as he is able, whether it was Robert Howarth or the noble animal, which was to be sold by auction and then sued in the County Court. Still the matter was not disposed of, for a week later it was resolved "That the president and Mr. Sutcliffe see the horse doctor in reference to the horse in dispute," also another appeal to Mr. Howarth to receive his unsatisfactory steed and return the money paid for him.

Then again in April the horse appears once more, and Mr. Walton "is empowered to employ Mr. Fawthrop to look at the lame horse that has sprained his leg, and if he thinks proper to engage him regularly instead of McTaggart," which is somewhat confusing. And then finally, a week later, it is decided "That the coal committee and Mr. Walton ascertain what money we have paid on horse doctors for the last two or three years." In spite of these equine anxieties however, the Society was still prospering, and four new branches were opened during the year.



PELLON BRANCH.

H. BRUS. 30.

These were Mount Pleasant on Jan. 11th, Moor End on April 15th, Pellon on May 3rd, and Claremount on May 24th. The Board also resolved on May 12th, "That the erection of a shop and seven houses at Prescott Place be let to the following contractors: Joiner John Fleming, Plasterer James Hambler, Plumber Young Tatham, and that the mason's work be postponed till next Monday night."

There was at this time a newspaper, run in the interests of co-operative societies, and called *The Co-operator*. If it is borne in mind that the Halifax Society had some 6,000 members, the decision of the Board "That in future we take one doz. copies of *Co-operator* instead of 3 dozen as our sail is only small," pays but a doubtful compliment to that paper. Even this one poor dozen seems to have been too many, for a few weeks later it was decided to cease taking it in altogether. If this was a sample of the patronage *The Co-operator* received from those it appealed to, the melancholy fact that it died some time later is not remarkable.

Even before the decease of this co-operative organ, an attempt was made by the Society to commence another, and in the opinion of the members a better one. With this object a circular was sent round to other Societies, proposing the establishment of a "Liberal Newspaper in connection with co-operative societies, so that they might have an organ to express the opinions held by co-operators generally whenever occasion requires." A conference was held, and the matter discussed, but ultimately the project was abandoned. Possibly all co-operators were not Liberals, and so were cold to the proposal. But it is more probable that the scant encouragement given to *The Co-operator* made societies chary of taking the expensive responsibility. Indeed some of the replies to the circular show that this was so. Here is an example from the reply of the Kilnhurst Society:—

"We do not see how it could get a circulation large enough to make it pay without damage to those already in the field. As for politics, there is one, *The Beehive*, conducted by and belonging to working men, which cannot be surpassed. As for co-operative questions we have *The Co-operator*, and if the contents are not interesting enough for some parties, cannot those parties come forward and devise some plan for making it more interesting? At the same time if we could be sure it could be done without injury to the other two named, the committee would have no objection to give the best support in their power."

Yours truly, JOHN WILD, Secretary.



L. B. 1905

CLAREMOUNT BRANCH.

And so this proposal, which emanated from the more serious and earnest members of the Society, came ultimately to nothing.

There is reason to believe, however, that this want of interest in, and of support for, the co-operative organ, was not singular; and the Society's lack of interest in the educational branch of its work must have been remarkable, when even Mr. Holyoake, an enthusiastic believer in the Society, noticed this failing, and commented on it as follows: "There is to be noted one defect of this Society—it sets aside no part of its profits for an educational fund for its members. This feature, it is to be hoped, will not be imitated elsewhere—it being a want of foresight, and will prove, in the future, wherever the omission is made, to be a want of economy."

No doubt plausible reasons could have been produced for this lack of interest in this feature. A glance at the minute books is sufficient to show that the minds of the directors were almost incessantly occupied by the commercial side of their duties. The management of such a large concern, with such a great variety of departments, with sixteen branches to manage and supply, was as much as it was possible for men to look after, who had to spend the greater part of every day in earning their own living, before their work on the Board commenced. Take, for example, this extract from Ben Wilson's experiences as a director in this very year. He says:—

"The directors were divided into sub-committees, and placed over the departments, and brought their reports to each Board meeting, which were held twice, and often three times a week. They purchased all the principal goods in connection with each department, and a great many travellers came before the Board. I have known five or six seeking orders for butter alone in one night; this caused the Board to sit to a late hour. We commenced at eight o'clock, and, if over by eleven, was considered early, but we often sat into morning."

Another old member of the Board says he often walked home to Siddal after midnight, and was at his work in the factory by six the next morning. It would be unreasonable to expect that men, jaded mentally and physically by so many responsibilities, should have hampered themselves with still further, and financially unprofitable, labour.

The directors commenced their 31st half-yearly report in July with regrets. But they say "If the report is to be faithfully made, and we have no wish that it should be otherwise, we must admit that our expectations have not in all respects been realised, while we have every reason to rejoice over our success



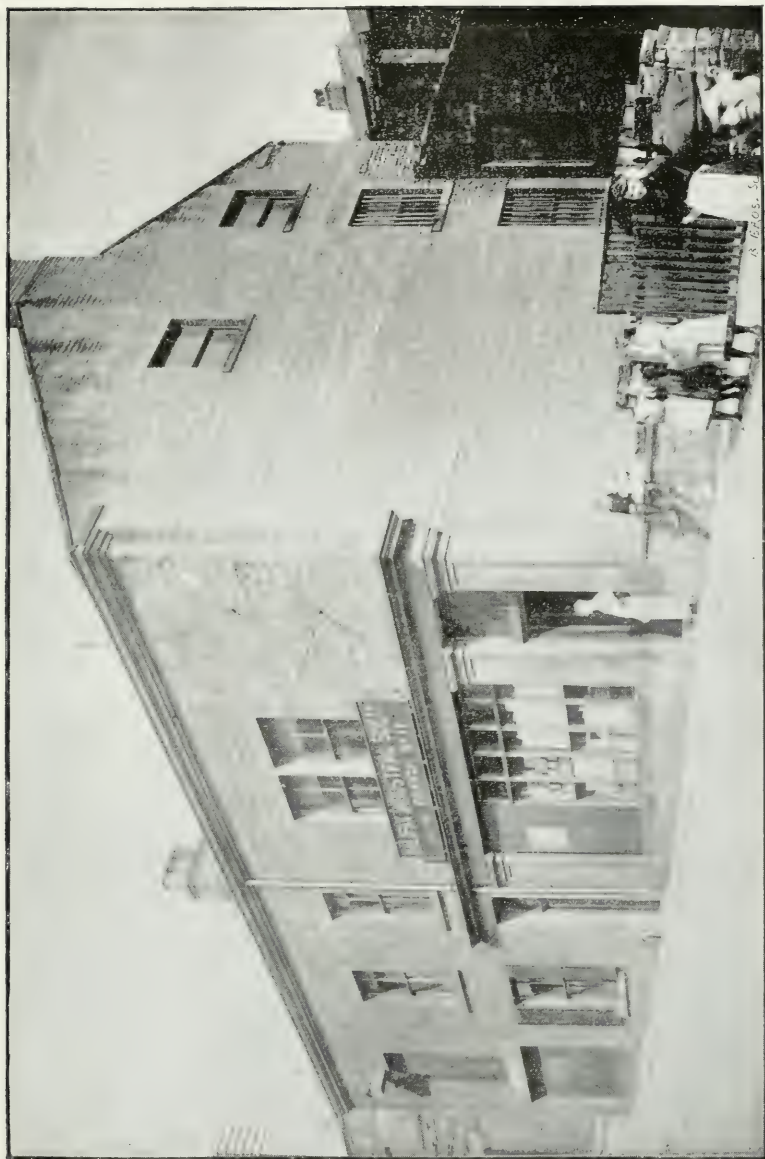
CENTRAL STORES (North-East View).

on the whole. You will see that some branches of our trade have made but little profit, and in one that we have sustained a loss." The butchering, they explained, had been "a source of anxiety and care," partly on account of the cattle plague and its consequent restrictions, and partly owing to the high price of cattle leaving little margin of profit. The loss was in the manufacturing department, and amounted to £217; the profit on the butchering being only £52; while the total profit for the half-year was a little short of £7,000. At the end of the year the loss on manufacturing was £395 for the six months, a total loss of £612 for the year; the total profits for the year being £13,749, which, as it was the highest profit the Society had ever made, was not much to weep about.

And finally there was not only a loss of £3 8s. 8½d. on the dining room department, and the continuous turmoil and unrest amongst the cooks and kitchen maids; but worry and irritation of another kind in that department, as is seen by a resolution commanding "That Mr. Michael Royles be requested to meet the dining room committee with respect to destroying the ants or vermin in that department." And now as Mr. Holyoake appeared at the beginning of this year, Mr. Ben Wilson shall make his bow at the close of it. At the end of his "Recollections of the Co-operative Society," he says:

"Having removed to Salterhebble in 1866 I did not seek re-election on the expiration of my term of office. I never liked the late hours to which the Board sat, and would have preferred an extra meeting each week, so that we might have got home at a reasonable hour. I had seen some progress whilst I had been a director, the members rising from 3,200 in 1862 to 6,000 in 1866, and the capital from £17,959 to £60,636. What a change since 1849! If, at the last meeting when we broke up our Co-operative Society in that year, some one had said that in less than twenty years there would be a Co-operative Society in Halifax with 6,000 members, a capital of £60,000, and a turn-over of £3,000 a week, there was not one of us who would have credited it." And so the old Chartist, nearly the last of those who had helped to throw stones at the soldiers, from the very spot of ground where stands the Society of which he was afterwards to be a director, makes his final bow, and retires from this history. And the writer, at any rate, is sorry to part with him, and hopes the readers will not be less sorry than he is.

The Society commenced the year 1867 by appointing a committee to enquire into the probable cost of erecting a co-operative hall over the new premises, and to report to the Board



LEE BRIDGE BRANCH.

at the following meeting. But on turning to the minutes of that meeting, we find the Board considering many subjects, and deciding "That the manager be empowered to engage a winder-on or a twister-in at the mill; that our hams be retailed at 11d. per lb. and our bacon at 8d. and 9d. per lb.; that Mr. Storey be allowed to give Christmas boxes same as last year, and that he give the postman a shilling;" these and eight other resolutions were passed, but not a word is to be found about the proposed co-operative hall. As no such place is now in existence, and never has been in existence, it may safely be assumed that the committee's report was either unfavourable or was never acted upon by the Board.

This year seems to have been an uneventful year, in which only one new store was opened, that being one at Lee Bridge, in June, and nothing else of importance breaks the monotony of the weekly orders for soap, tea, candles, raisins, and sago; the unchanging weekly details of engaging new servants, raising or reprimanding old ones, the sanctioning of withdrawals, and the passing of accounts; except a decision on Feb. 7th, "that the drapery committee shall commence selling calico of our own make in the morning, and that the drapery committee get a few yards of calico from shops in the town for the Board to compare with ours."

This was rather a stagnant year indeed. The membership only increased 134, and the profits were actually £1,643 less than the preceeding year. Turning to the balance sheet we find that the dining rooms showed a loss of £74 18s. 1d in the July report, which was reduced to £52 at the end of the year. Manufacturing, however, showed a loss of £500 14s 8d. in July, and a further loss of £462 16s. 11d. at the end of the year, making a total loss of nearly a thousand pounds for the twelve months; and that is all that need be said about the sixteenth year of the Society's history.

1868 was almost equally uneventful. Again the membership only increased by 129; the sales decreased nearly £1,000; the profits were the lowest of the last four years; and the dividends were the highest—namely, two shillings in the pound—yet paid in any year! The only departments showing a loss this year was the manufacturing £825 1s. 11d., the farming £153 10s. 11d., and the clogging of £6 4s. 2d. The dining rooms actually showing a profit of nearly £41. There were, indeed, proposals that the manufacturing be stopped; but they were decided against by the half-yearly meeting. There were also a curious resolution passed on July 8th, which read as follows:



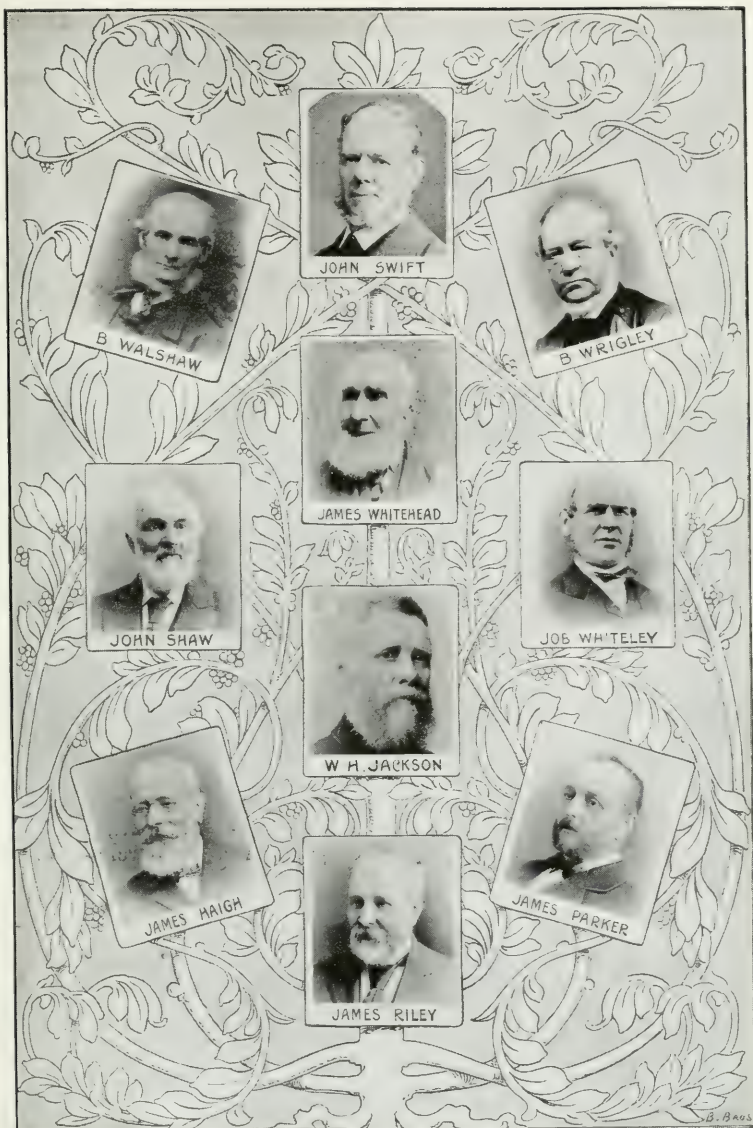
QUEEN'S ROAD BRANCH.

B. BROS. Sec.

"That, having heard Mr. H——'s explanation respecting his being caught in the Board room inspecting the minute book, we hereby express our satisfaction with the same. At the same time we are sorry that his zeal for the Society led him to overstep the bounds of prudence, and intimate our intention of punishing such offence in future by the summary dismissal of the offender." This quaint decision resembles the celebrated verdict of "not guilty, but don't do it again or you will be." Nothing of general interest occurs in the minutes for this year, except that a special meeting was called "to take into consideration the propriety or otherwise of building property and purchasing land." This was on the suggestion of the directors, who were, no doubt, uneasily conscious that they were paying 5 per cent. interest on share capital that was unproductive. The special meeting came to no definite conclusion apparently, or at least gave no recordable consent to the proposal.

Perhaps the directors were consoled for this, by the decision of the half-yearly meeting to raise their remuneration to £30 each half-year, which, as reckoned out by the secretary, came to the munificent sum of tenpence each for every Board meeting attended. There was a meeting of the Board on Dec. 28th, at which these two minutes, entered in a strange and suspiciously straggling hand, were recorded. "1 That Christmas boxes be given to the various compney's servants and including the fire brigade as usual 2 That vitules be allowed for taking stock in the drapery department in the night time." And another, on the last day of the year, in which it is recorded, in the neat hand of the secretary, Mr. S. Baxendale, "That the five boys implicated in the killing of the pig at the farm be requested to pay one shilling each at once," followed by the flowing signature of Joseph Greenwood, as the last act of the year, and almost the last of his official career, as he ceased to be president a week or two later, when he was replaced by Mr. Job Whiteley, who was unanimously elected president at the 36th half-yearly meeting of the Society.

At this meeting, held January 23rd, 1869, Mr. Joseph Bairstow, who had until recently been secretary, was elected on the Board, being at the head of the poll with 325 votes, and William Thompson replaced S. Baxendale as secretary. At the second meeting of the year the directors decided "That the Board feels very reluctant to repay to the members any of its surplus capital, but desires that the question stands over for a month in order to complete the investigations now going on." They also appointed the president, J. Greenwood, and J. Bairstow a deputation to



PAST PRESIDENTS.

John Crossley & Sons, Limited, "to get information as to the best terms upon which we can invest our surplus capital in their company."

And then at a general monthly meeting, held Feb. 20th, 1869, a very important resolution was come to. This was "That it be left in the hands of the directors to invest our surplus capital in John Crossley & Sons, Limited, Messrs. Briggs & Co., Whitwood Colliery, or any other company the Board may think fit!" The Society also further decided at another general meeting held in March, "That we work up what stock we have got of warps and wefts in our manufacturing department, and that no more be bought until the next monthly meeting. And that in the meantime the Board make enquiry as to whether we cannot commence a more lucrative business, and to report to the next general meeting."

It is not surprising, after the passing of these resolutions, that at a meeting of the Board on April 1st—ominous day!—it was decided "That Mr. Storey go to Manchester at his own convenience to enquire about the Lancashire and Yorkshire company's shares, and that he have power to purchase from £1,000 to £10,000 worth of shares, according to his own discretion." No L. & Y. stock seems to have been purchased at that or any subsequent period, so far as the minute books show. Search is somewhat complicated, however, at this period, as there were no less than three minute books in use, apparently kept by different people; which only occasionally give duplicate reports of the same meetings, and, even then, do not always agree in their records of resolutions passed. For example, in one case where two books record the same meeting, one contains a resolution "That John Boyle's services at the mill be discontinued for the present," while the other has no mention of John at all, though their reports agree in every other particular. A purchase was made, however, of 80 shares in the L. & Y. Railway company, which cost £9,941, and were sold at a profit of £642 two years later.

Nothing important transpired from the resolution recorded of April 1st, until the general monthly meeting on April 24th, when it was resolved "That we discontinue manufacturing and that we dispose of the looms, &c., by either selling or letting them on the best possible terms." It may as well be stated here that the total loss in this department, from one cause or another, amounted to over £6,000, and led to an expensive law suit, which will be presently referred to. It was ultimately resolved, at a general monthly meeting held in November, "That this



SOUTHOWRAM BRANCH.

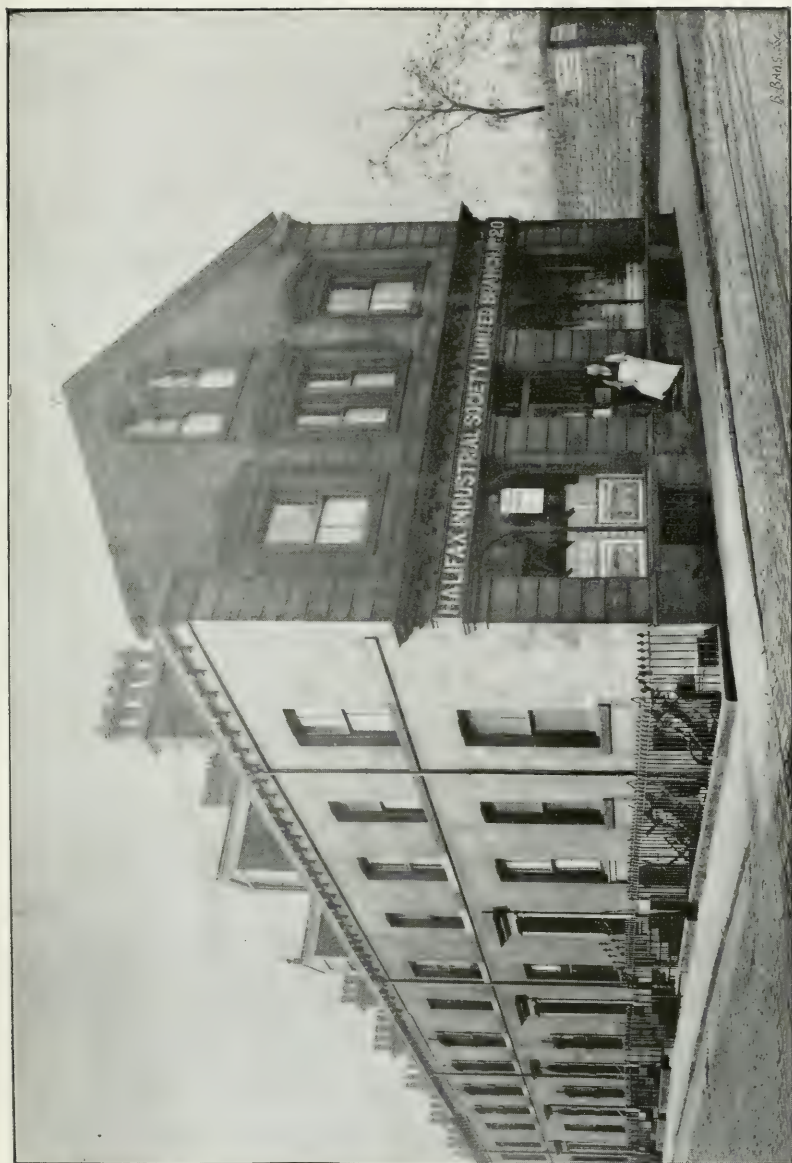
meeting recommend the Board to adopt the suggestion to pay off the loss sustained in the manufacturing department by applying the interest exceeding 5 per cent. from the investment of capital, and also the sum usually appropriated to depreciation, and that the next meeting of the Society be a special meeting to consider the question." There is no sign that the matter was so considered, and the Board do not appear to have entirely acted upon the suggestion, possibly because the "interest exceeding five per cent." was not there to be so disposed of.

There seems to have been a difficulty in getting a quorum at the general monthly meetings, and it was therefore decided in July "That 50 members form a quorum to constitute a meeting of the Society in order to transact business," which was certainly a small proportion of the 6,000 members to be trusted with such a heavy responsibility.

There was clearly a feeling of unrest at this time, and a feverish anxiety beginning to manifest itself; partly caused by the loss in manufacturing, and partly owing to the secession of some members, who made an attempt to start an opposition society, but failed in their reprehensible object. So incensed were the members of the Society by this attempt, that, at a monthly meeting held in September, it was decided "That the Board should ascertain the names of the leading seceders and summon them to withdraw from the Society all their capital, and, if they refuse, the directors to take all needful means to compel them."

The Board next decided—no doubt with a view to getting more than five per cent. for their money—"to withdraw the loan from the Halifax Flour Society at the end of the year," and also "to take up 100 shares in John Crossley & Sons, Limited, at not more than £20 10s. 0d. per share." This was a good round sum to give for £15 shares on which only £10 had been paid, and not only shows the feverish desire of the Board to get a profit—somehow; but was ultimately very far from achieving their object.

Some of the records of this period would almost give the impression that the Board had a wild idea of investing some of their surplus capital in butter, judging from the large quantity ordered. For instance, on Sept. 20th 300 firkins were ordered at one shilling over the average Cork market for first Corks. On the 23rd 400 firkins were ordered by telegraph; on the 29th 150 firkins per week were ordered of the North of England Society "till further notice!" And in the next ten days orders for 500, 200, 50, 100, 250, and 100 firkins were ordered from

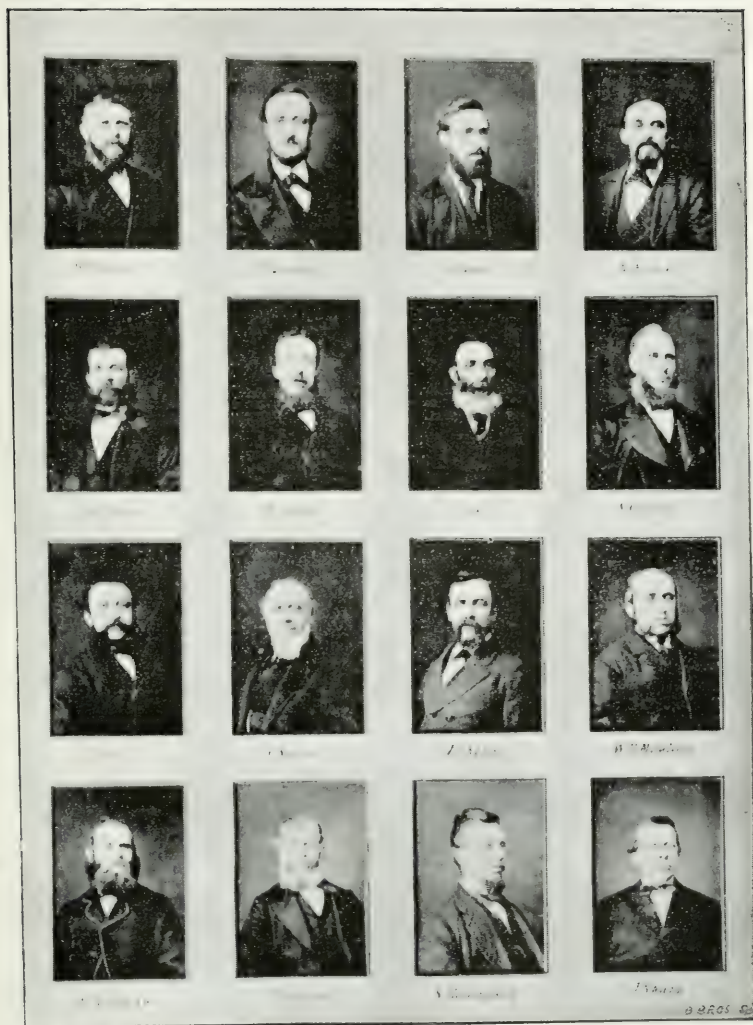


CROMWELL STREET BRANCH.

different dealers and at varying prices. And all this time the energetic, but as it is not difficult to believe, overtasked directors were dealing with the daily routine of their ordinary work, passing plans for a store and houses to be built at Pellon; deciding that the name of the new engine at Central Stores shall be "Perseverance;" and finally ending their year's labours on Thursday, Dec. 30th, by resolving "That Mr. Hebblethwaite see to it that the vermin be destroyed at the Lee Bridge store."

1870, and we reach the last year of this second period. Mr. Job Whiteley is the president, Mr. John Shillito the vice-president, and Mr. Wm. Thompson the secretary. The Board commenced the year on Jan. 4th, by deciding that a statement of the manufacturing department do not appear on the balance sheet, and that any wages that have been paid by that department be put to the general wages account. And accordingly manufacturing dropped out of its place in the Branch accounts from that time forward. At the annual general meeting held Jan. 22nd, nothing beyond formal business, and a vote of thanks to the chairman was passed; and the Board commenced their ordinary business in peace and quietness. The ordinary business included making new rules for the election of officers; settlement of difficulties with the owners of the late manufacturing premises, and with Messrs. Dugdale, lately the Society's agent in that department—a very tiresome, complicated, and unsatisfactory business; and a decision, confirmed at a monthly meeting, "to dispense with the services of Messrs. Norris and Foster, as solicitors to the Society, and that the Board request them to deliver up all documents belonging to the Society," the Society were apparently dissatisfied with their conduct of the Dugdale case. This meeting also recommended the Board to call a special meeting to reduce the rate of interest on share capital from 5 to 4 per cent., which was not acted upon until other events made such reduction imperative. They also rescinded the motion relating to Messrs. Norris and Foster a month later.

There was great difficulty in the check department at this time also, large numbers of one pound checks being presented, both by members and non-members, which had been dishonestly come by. Meeting after meeting the subject came up; efforts were made to find the source of this illicit supply; at least one store-keeper was discharged and threatened with penal proceedings; and even a member of the Board requested to resign his seat in the following resolution: "That the Board regrets that Mr. J—— W——, one of its members, should have accepted from a non-member 50 one pound checks, with the intention of



PICTURE IN THE BOARD ROOM.

bringing them in to the Society and obtain for them the full amount of bonus, and we hereby request him to retire from the Board as a director." And this "request" seems to have been complied with. It is evident the Society had amongst its members at this time men, and women also, whose co-operative ideal was not high enough to keep them from such mean and dishonourable practices; which may be taken as a proof that success attracts undesirable people, who often endanger, if they do not destroy, the prosperity that attracted them.

And now, before proceeding to subjects of more importance, attention should be called to the incessant and confusing duties the directors had to deal with. Here, for instance, is an abstract of the Board meeting on Feb. 3rd, at which eighteen resolutions on eighteen different subjects were considered and passed. They included such variety as changing servants from one department to another; instructions to architect as to plans and measuring for a store at Pellon; plans for conversion of the old store into cottages; appointment of deputation to interview solicitors; that King Cross butcher's shop be painted; appointment of deputation to both flour societies with important proposals; engagement of new servants; regulation of servants' duties in loading dust carts; dismissal of a cook —this was a common occurrence—and engagement of two new kitchen maids at salaries of 7/- a week, to include Sunday work; purchase of new arm chairs for branches; advertising for new cook; that rent of cottage at Elland be reduced to £5; that more room be not provided at Wheatley at present; that sink be examined at Cow Green branch; store-keepers' bonds to be considered and prepared; that B's price for treacle be refused; consideration of various samples; decision to allow farming committee to sell a cow; and that five new coal trucks be ordered. A not at all uncommon evening's work, occurring, on an average, about twice a week, without considering the sub-committee meetings at which many of the above resolutions had been carefully considered.

And then, wedged in amongst these multifarious matters, we come upon an entirely new class of subject. For example, this on August 1st, "That we appoint a finance committee consisting of the president, vice-president, B. Culpan, W. H. Jackson, and H. Sutcliffe." August 29th, "That the purchase of 50 Turkish bonds by the finance committee be confirmed." Sept. 26th, "That the purchase of £5,000 Egyptian bonds, 7½, 1868, be confirmed." Nov. 24th, "That Mr. Storey be appointed to go to London to-morrow to make enquiry about a stock and share broker, and to get some information as to foreign stocks."

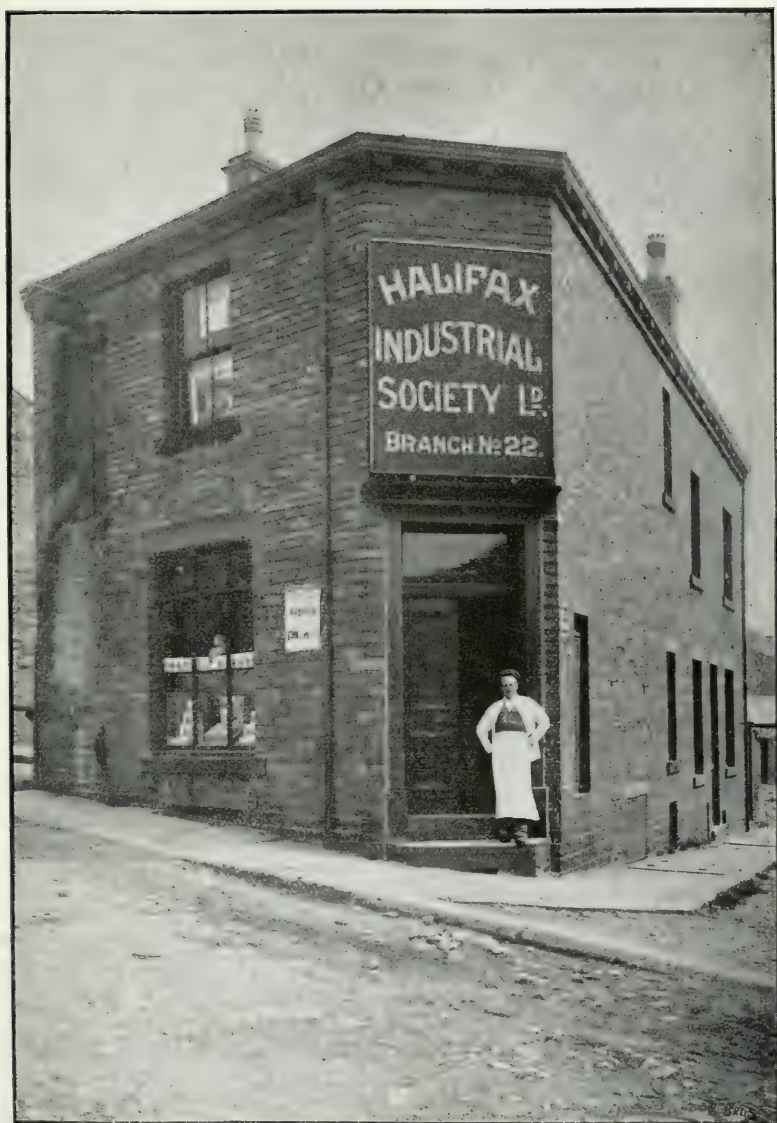


H. BRUS, Sec.

SALTERHEBBLE BRANCH.

Nov. 28th, "Resolved that the Turkish bonds be sold when they will fetch 56 per bond." This new departure, certainly entered upon with a view to making a profit on the surplus capital invested with the Society at 5 per cent., and probably in the hope of recovering, by a swift and easy method, the loss of some £6,000 incurred by want of business knowledge in the unsuccessful manufacturing department. And this new departure, in which special aptitude and knowledge, and quickness of decision are imperative, was made by a committee only meeting at intervals, for entirely different objects and composed of a foreman, an overlooker, a stuff finisher, a carpet weaver, a gardener, a mill overlooker, a woolsorter, and a painter, as they were described in the nomination papers filled up for their election at the general meeting on Dec. 24th. There it was also decided that the question of inserting in the balance sheet the name of each loan and investment be not adopted. And with that decision the last year of the second period of this history may fitly close.

It had been a period of unexampled and almost dangerous prosperity, and ended with clear signs of change. For the old men had departed, the old ideals were no longer respected. New men were at the helm, with modern ideas; new men who had discovered how an Industrial Society could become prosperous by other means than industry; men who were going to make wealth out of nothing; whose feet were already over the threshold of the Stock Exchange, and who proposed to emancipate the working classes on the proceeds of successful gambling in the share market. It was a splendid idea; and the history of the next six years shows how far it succeeded.



HIPPERHOLME BRANCH.

CHAPTER VI.

THE THIRD PERIOD, FROM 1871 TO THE END OF 1875.

Date.	Members.		Capital.		Sales.		Profit.		Dividend.		
									1st half	2nd half.	
1871	..	6,804	..	131,750	..	197,863	..	17,717	..	2 0	2 4
1872	..	7,400	..	167,468	..	235,730	..	23,723	..	2 6	2 6
1873	..	7,900	..	202,988	..	264,137	..	28,857	..	2 8	2 8
1874	..	7,730	..	227,104	..	273,186	..	27,979	..	2 7	2 6
1875	..	7,216	..	216,556	..	270,498	..	25,572	..	2 6	2 0

THE task of relating the stirring events now to be unfolded is not an easy one, for reasons that a few words of explanation will make perfectly clear. Many of the men who took an active part in them are still living, and are still interested members of the Society, even though some of them may no longer take an active part in its management. They have also vivid recollections of many of the incidents, and reminiscences of those who took part in them. This, though it appears to be an advantage, is not so in reality, as such recollections, though they may be accurate in their general outline, are more or less varied by individual tastes, temperaments and opinions, and coloured by the diversity of the minds through which they have come. It would be impossible to reconcile these perfectly honest, but more or less contradictory recollections, and unfair to give some and withhold others. But there are, in the minute books of that time, the written records of what took place; brief, curt, disjointed, and often confusing as they are; being but the bare records of the directors' decisions, giving no clue to the arguments by which they were arrived at. Neither lapse of time, prejudice, unconscious change of view or failure of memory, has altered these reports in the slightest particular. There they stand, stroke for stroke, precisely as they were written thirty years ago. And though they give the merest outline of the facts, and no suggestion of the life and colour, the stress and strain of the words, and looks, and thoughts, and motives, of the men who fashioned them; are safe and reliable so far as they go, and on them it will be prudent to rely.

Another difficulty is that of deciding the share each man took in the decisions arrived at. Here again it would be unfair to make distinctions, which could at best be but opinions, and might be entirely mistaken ones. However, it is not necessary to make, or to try to make, such distinctions. Where a number of men sat together round a table, with the destiny of the Society



CENTRAL STORES (South-West View).

in their hands, though some were active and confident advocates of a particular policy, while others only gave a tacit or half unwilling consent to it, they must be held alike responsible for the success or failure of their efforts. It is clearly not the duty of the writer to apportion praise or blame, to decide in whose mind the new departure first took shape. His duty is to tell the truth, so far as it can be discovered; to relate the actual decisions and their consequences, without considering the share borne by any of the men who were responsible for them; and, having done this to the best of his ability, to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. One other word is due to the men who were at the head of the Society at this time, and it is this; whatever may be thought of their judgment, no charge was made, or could be made, against their honourable integrity. What they did was honestly done for the benefit of the Society, by men who were honestly trying to serve its interests.

And now, caring nothing for the stormy billows of conflicting opinions and personal considerations, let us dive into the stagnant waters of the minute books of the period, and piece together, so far as possible, into a connected whole, the relics that have slept so silently beneath their surface for more than a quarter of a century.

Having decided to enter the arena of financial speculation, they had, as already reported, sent Mr. Storey to London to arrange for a London stock broker to conduct the operations of the Society. And a firm of high standing was accordingly found and appointed the agents of the Society. Then, on Jan. 30th, the annual meeting having decided, a few days earlier, to leave the investment of surplus capital in the hands of the Board, the Book committee were instructed "to make enquiries about Honduras bonds, and report on Thursday night." In February it was resolved "that we invest £5,000 in 1869 Turkish bonds, Mr. Storey to see to it," and in March, enquiries having been made in Honduras, or elsewhere, it was decided "That we invest £3,000 in Honduras bonds, Mr. Storey will instruct our London brokers to purchase."

In April it was resolved "That the Board, at its rising, adjourn till Thursday next, and that the investment of capital be left in the hands of the president, Mr. B. Culpan, the secretary, and Mr. Storey, until Thursday night." And at the next meeting "That the purchase of £6,000 London, Chatham and Dover 4½ p^{er} cent. stock be confirmed." So that the sub-committee had evidently not been idle. The investment of the funds of a society in reliable securities paying a safe dividend is, of course,



MIXENDEN BRANCH.

a legitimate act; but these stocks were not bought to hold, but to sell if the price rose—as speculations, and not as investments. That the directors were not wishful for mere investments was shown on April 17th, when they offered to sell the shares held in John Crossley & Sons, to the Brighthouse Industrial Society, at £20 a share—which was actually less than the Society had given for them some two years earlier.

That the Board was not entirely occupied by its exciting excursions into the share market, is shown by a resolution of the 20th April, ordering the secretary to “write to the committee and store-keeper of Prescott Street branch, and inform that if they cannot send in to the Central stores the dirty lard and flour, after having been requested to do so, the Board will try to fetch them on their backs.” This somewhat jocular threat was perhaps owing to the sale of Turkish bonds, at a profit of £207, having imbued them with a confident and truculent spirit. Whether that was so or not, they purchased £3,000 French defence loans on the first of May, and appointed the president, vice-president, Messrs. B. Culpan, J. Mawson, and the secretary “a finance committee, with power to act in the investment of capital, and sale of shares, during the absence of the Board,” and resolved, in the next resolution, “That drip be reduced a penny per pound on Monday next.”

Those may smile who choose, but to the serious student there is something almost pathetic about these directors, and the grotesque incongruity of their occupations.

Take, for instance, these transactions in one month. “That we invest £2,000 in Honduras, £2,000 in Turkish, £2,000 and £5,000 in Honduras, £8,000 in Turkish.” “That we apply for £5,000 of shares in the North of England Industrial Coal and Iron Co.” “That the purchase of £20,000 Grand Trunks railway stock be confirmed.” Here, with smaller items, we have the purchase of £40,000 worth of speculative stock, and in the next resolution this amazing Board gravely resolving “That our store-keeper at Illingworth go on selling the washing fluid until further notice,” and informing “Mr. E. Ratcliffe that we protest against his conduct in sending two carboys of washing fluid to Ovenden store without orders, and to inform him he will have to fetch it back.”

Some of the Turkish bonds bought in April were sold in October for £3,897, at a clear profit of £711! And here were men able, by a stroke of the pen almost, to make a profit equal to about 35 per cent. per annum, actually troubling themselves about washing liquor, and the price of drip! They did though;



RANGE BANK BRANCH.

B. BRAS. SC.

and then decided to invest £1,000 in the Ousburn engine works, out of the proceeds of the L. C. and D. sale.

Here are a few other items, culled almost at random, from the autumn of this year. "That we apply for £40,000 Spanish stock, Mr. Storey to see to it." "That Mr. Storey go to London on Wednesday to apply for it, and to bring back Turkish bonds." "That we sell Ottoman bonds to-morrow, if they will realise 48 per bond. Also Egyptians at 81½." "That it be left in the hands of Mr. Storey to sell Grand Trunks by Thursday night, if he thinks it best to do so." "That the North Eastern railway shares be sold when they will realise 164 per share." And then two resolutions as follows, "That we purchase £30,000 Atlantic and Great Western Railway, on the distinct understanding that they be sold when they will realise £1 per share net profit," and the next "That we sell Australian meat as follows: Beef, 8d. per lb., and mutton 8d. per lb., and that portions of a tin be retailed out if required by customers."

There was a clear gain, on these speculations, of over £5,000 during the year, as the balance sheets showed, and it was found necessary to have a London banker for the rapid transaction of this remunerative industrial undertaking, and Mr. Storey was sent to London, deputed to arrange the matter. And what of the members of the Society, and their opinions on this new and easy way to independence? That is easily gathered from a glance through the general monthly meetings. In February they passed a resolution as to the mode of electing officers. In March they only decided to give a donation of £10 to the Albert Asylum for lunatics! In April they voted for a branch store at West Hill Park, and to close the shops an hour earlier four nights a week. In May there were not 50 members present and no business could be done. In June they took nominations for the half-yearly election. At the half-yearly meeting in July merely formal motions were carried. In August they only decided against an appeal from the Bishop Auckland Co-operative Society for financial help. In September they decided "That the motion made by Mr. Shillito (the vice-president) referring the consideration of the capital question to the Board for them to report upon be not entertained; but that it be left in the hands of the Board, as previously, to invest the capital as they think best;" while in November and December, merely formal resolutions and nominations of officers were taken. And so the members—or such of them as cared to attend the monthly meetings—cheerfully left their money in the hands of men who had discovered a new El Dorado in the stock and share market.

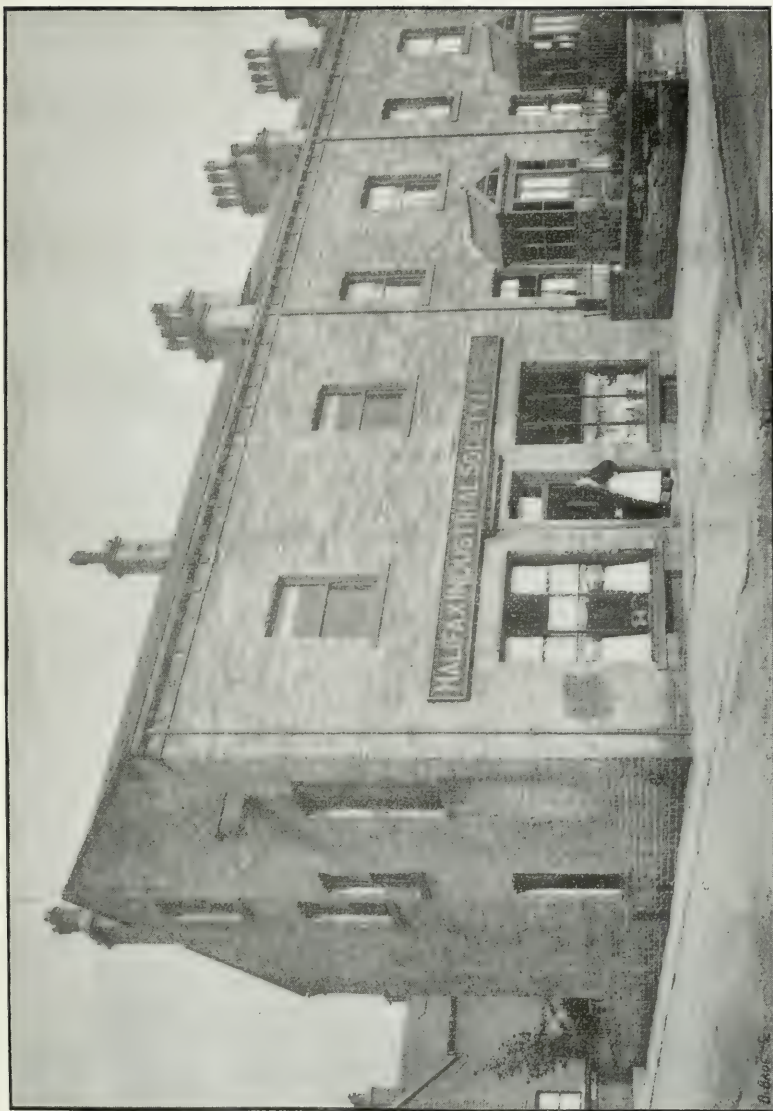


STABLES (Outside).

And what manner of men were these who had made the great discovery? Men with special knowledge and financial training? Let us look at their occupations, as given in the printed list of candidates submitted to the December meeting! Mr. Job Whiteley, the president, under the head of "trade" is described "overlooker;" the directors contain a stuff finisher, a card maker, a carpet weaver, a mechanic, a woolsorter, a foreman, a shoemaker, a wiredrawer, a warp beamer, a clerk, a painter, and a cotton twister; the secretary was a woolsorter; and the auditors a salesman and an overlooker.

It has been already recorded that the co-operative paper, *The Co-operator*, had died for want of support; but it has not been mentioned that the *Co-operative News* had been established to fill the vacant place. That the 6,800 members were not deeply interested in this branch of the movement may be fairly concluded from the following resolution:—"That we give an order for three dozen per week co-operative newspapers." This resolution is not without significance if seriously considered, and may fitly close the history of the year.

At the annual meeting, January 20th, 1872, the directors congratulated the members on the prosperous year's trading, and on the fact that by what they called "a judicious use of the surplus capital," the losses on the manufacturing department had been wiped entirely out. It is said to have been at this meeting that the president exhorted the members to bring as much capital as they could, as the Board were in a position to invest it in an equally judicious and profitable manner. But the members were not all satisfied with the new ideals of the Society it appears, as a resolution was passed "That this meeting recommends the directors to consider the establishment of a library in connection with the Society and the best mode of conducting the same, and report to the monthly meeting; and that a whole or a portion of the surplus on the balance sheet be devoted to that purpose." A committee of the Board, Messrs. Shillito, Culpan, and the secretary, was appointed to consider this matter, and reported that there were rooms at the central stores, but a large outlay would be necessary to fit them up, and the committee would rather see the idea in operation before that outlay was incurred. They recommended that the coffee room be used for the commencement as a reading room, and the Board room as a library. Nothing more seems to have been done for some months however; and it is not improbable that a letter from Mr. W. Morrison, who was consulted on items for the dates of a co-operative almanack, may have enlivened the interest of the committee. Part of this



SAVILE PARK BRANCH.

letter, dated April 4th, is as follows: After mentioning a few mistakes in the almanack sent him, Mr. Morrison says—

“I think the almanack proper should have as many leading co-operative dates as possible. I suggest a few. Your members and the library you *ought* to have, but I fear have not; should be able to supply others.”

He mentions many of these dates and wickedly says further:

“It seems to me you might find some of these preferable to such entries as “explosion of a ship off Erith,” “Cook poisoned by Dr. Palmer,” “Royal Observatory begun,” and so on. Keep in all the local dates where possible, and some day I hope to see an entry “Educational department formed at Halifax.” I am sending off your almanac, and the last report of the Rochdale Pioneers, to a co-operator in Holland; and great is the contrast between the two publications in this respect.

And two and a half per cent on your £17,000 of profit is £425 per an., about the cost of a gallon of beer for each of your 6,800 members. Surely the leading store in Yorkshire should be capable of such a sacrifice as this. The absence of such a department is worthy neither of the County or the movement. It is not so much the absence of the books I deplore, they may be got elsewhere; but the absence of the spirit which should put the books on the book shelves. Surely it would be worth the cost for such an object as raising the general level of our countrymen.”

Believe me yours truly

W. Morrison.

The secretary seems to have felt that some defence should be offered to this severe wiggling from Mr. Morrison; what that defence was can be guessed from the reply below; and whether it was strictly accurate can be judged from the directors' annual report, quoted above. Mr. Morrison in his reply, dated April 16th, says, with a sly smile as he wrote perhaps:

“I am sorry I did your Society an injustice. I had no idea of your having lost so heavily in the manufacturing department; no doubt this would be a serious embarrassment to earnest true co-operators in their endeavours to drag up the aspirations of the mass of your members, who have joined you for the sake of the almighty dollar, to higher ends.

But foreigners come here and ask me which is the most important society in this country, and I answer “probably Halifax.” To the next question, “What do they do for education or the elevation of the race?” I do not like to answer “nothing.”

And if the reader will put down the book a moment to think, he will see that Mr. Morrison—had he known—need not have



LEE MOUNT BRANCH.

S. G. 1895

answered nothing. To the foreigners question "what are they doing for the education and elevation of the race?" he could have replied, "they are teaching the members of the Industrial Society to live without industry, on the proceeds of successful gambling speculations!" an answer that would probably have aroused feelings of envy—or astonishment—in the breasts of those inquisitive foreigners.

These letters, and probably the interest of the genuine co-operators amongst the members, resulted in the library getting into existence, but not until the end of the year, rules for its management being passed at a special general meeting in November; a fund of £225 having been allotted for that purpose in July. And now a few resolutions indicating the progress of the Board's judicious investments.

These were passed in January—

"That the Atlantic and Great Western Stock be sold at To-morrow's prices."

"That we invest £10,000 in the purchase of Great Eastern Railway Stock and that Mr. John Caw buy them."

"That Mr. Storey be allowed to sell the Gt. Eastern Ry. stock when they will realise from 53½ to 54 per share."

February—

"That Messrs. the President Vice President and B. Culpan wait upon Messrs. Norris and Foster to get their opinion of the legality or otherwise of the Society investing capital in Bonds and Railway Stocks."

It would be rather interesting to know what answer Messrs. Norris and Foster gave to this deputation; and still more what they thought of this use of the Society's capital. But on neither point is any information available.

"That it be left in the hands of Mr. Storey until Monday, to purchase or sell Stocks or Bonds if he thinks he can do so to the advantage of the Society."

March—

"That we purchase £20,000 Stock of Gt. Eastern Ry."

"That Mr. Storey be allowed to go to London to-morrow afternoon for the purpose of watching the Stocks, and that it be left in his hands to either buy or sell Stock according to his judgment."

And then two resolutions as a contrast—

"That Mr. Storey purchase £30,000 Grand Trunks," and next

"That boiled spice be reduced from 10d. to 8d. per lb.

There are many other records of the application for purchase or sale of stocks, but enough have been quoted to give a clear

notion of what the directors were doing. As to the views of the members, they can be judged once more from their deciding at the general monthly meeting in March, "That the investment of the surplus capital be left in the hands of the directors to invest as they deem desirable, so as to realise as much interest as possible." And it is obvious that, as with the directors and the members, so also with the servants of the Society—who were privately investing their pound or two in the same bargains as the Board—the highest aspirations of the leading spirits was now capable of being expressed in that simple phrase "As much interest as possible—and get it how or where you can."

Contrast this condition of affairs with the following extracts from the directors' report of just twenty years earlier, that is in 1852:

"Your attention will doubtless be attracted to the small amount of profits which is shown in the balance sheet. The Board have however to remind you that every advantage has been thrown on the side of the purchasers, that none of the usual tricks of trade have been resorted to; while markets of the best character only have been sought. They are aware that by having resource to the usual modes of conducting business, a more favourable balance sheet could have been produced; but it remains for you to determine whether questionable practices shall be adopted, or the present mode, with such improvements as experience may suggest, shall be continued.

In conclusion we have to exhort you to continue steadfast in the cause to which we are by this experiment committed; knowing that your labour will not be in vain in the holy work of the social and political elevation, and ultimate emancipation of your class. We are, brethren, on behalf of the Board of Management, Your obedient servants, JOHN SWIFT, president; JOHN DENNIS, treasurer; JOHN CULPAN, junr., secretary."

This and several other early reports, which have been preserved by the family of the late Mr. John Sturzaker, previously alluded to, only came to hand after the earlier part of the book was printed. It may be said, generally, that they give a better impression of the early days and directors, than the brief notes previously available.

And little more need be detailed of this year, in which it must be remembered all the ordinary business was going on, though so little of it is here alluded to. An attempt has been made in previous chapters to give an idea of the ordinary routine

of the work of the directors, and as in this respect one year was very like another, a repetition would entail tediousness without instruction. There were the usual advertisements for cooks and kitchenmaids that never seemed long absent from the local papers; a curious resolution of a somewhat jocular order to the effect "That the President and Mr Storey be appointed to sell the property at Wheatley Lane, by Thursday three weeks, and if not sold by that time they be fined 5/- each for every week the property remains unsold." This property was in Burnley, and had belonged to Dugdale, the agent of the manufacturing branch before alluded to, and was indeed all the Society ever got towards the sums owing by him to them. There were also two new stores opened this year, one in Cromwell Street, the other at Salterhebble, and both in the merry month of May; and a resolution passed in December "That Mr. Storey wire the Wholesale Society as to whether they can supply the Society with two or three tons of best white Cheshire cheese not to exceed 79s. per cwt. samples to be sent at once," which is sufficiently suggestive of a merry Christmas; and one on the 30th of December that the usual Christmas boxes be given, which brought 1872 to a cheerful conclusion.

And now, before proceeding with the history of 1873, it will be necessary to call the reader's attention to a few figures. So far, mere accounts have been avoided as much as possible, but in order that an intelligent idea of the financial position may be presented to those who care to consider it, a few details will be given from the balance sheets, as briefly as possible, and so simple as to be readily understood by those who, like the writer, are unfamiliar with financial statements. Not a figure more than is necessary will be given, and those readers—and there may be many now, as there were then, who take no interest in the accounts of their Society—who do not care to study them, may pass them over without compunction.

It will be remembered that so early as 1870 the Society had more capital than their ordinary business could absorb profitably, yet the amount of capital was only £107,976. By 1874 this capital had risen to £227,104; that is to say had increased by over £120,000, or had more than doubled in four years. And in that period had the membership increased at the same rate, it would have risen from 6,614 to something like 14,000, whereas it was only about half that, being 7,730. The sales and the profits had increased, but not at the same rate as the capital, though at a greater rate than the membership. In fact where the members in 1870 were spending about £26 a year each, in



CENTRAL STORES (North-West View).

1874 they were spending nearly £35 each; which is accounted for by the fact that this was the era of great prosperity which followed the Franco-Prussian war.

It cannot be supposed that this capital of £227,000 was necessary to finance the business, for twenty years later, almost the same amount of business was being done on a capital of only £99,000. And then, on turning to the balance sheets for 1874, we find that of this large capital no less than £157,000 was invested outside the Society, leaving only £70,000 employed in the legitimate business for which it was nominally subscribed. It will be found too, that this held true of the next four years, when the capital really being used in the business averaged about the same amount, ranging from £60,000 to £70,000 a year; and that as the capital rose, the investments rose to the same extent. So that the investments, which were about £47,000 in 1870, with a capital of £107,976, rose, in the four following years, in round figures, as follows:

	Capital.		Investments.	Used in the business.
1870 ..	107,000	..	47,000	.. 60,000
1871 ..	131,000	..	60,000	.. 71,000
1872 ..	167,000	..	102,000	.. 65,000
1873 ..	202,000	..	140,000	.. 62,000
1874 ..	227,000	..	157,000	.. 70,000

If it is borne in mind that an interest of 5 per cent. was to be paid on the very large amount of money invested by the Board, the investments had to bring in a considerable sum, rising from £2350 in 1870 to £7,850 in 1874, before the Society was a penny the better off for all their responsibility.

Another question must be asked; and that is, how the members, with the balance sheets before them, failed to notice that, in its palmiest day, these large speculative investments were hardly paying their way? For instance, in 1872 the investments amounted to £102,900, requiring a sum of £2,500 to pay interest upon them for the half-year. For the same six months it appears the total income from those investments was less than £2,500, though there was a further profit, on investment realised, of £2,100. In the following half-year, to July, 1873, the investments are put down at £130,000, needing £3,250 for the half-year's interest, whereas the amount received from them in "interest dividends, &c."—whatever that may mean—was only just over £3,000. In the next six months, to the end of 1873, the investments amounted to £140,000, requiring £3,500 as interest; whereas the total amount received in interest dividend, &c., as shown on the balance sheet, is some £200 short of that amount!

How is it, with these facts staring them in the face, the members brought in during the following year, a further sum of £25,000 to be similarly laid out; and that the directors not only accepted it, but actually laid it out, in hopes of realizing a gigantic profit, that never had been and never was to be, made? The explanation is probably this: on the balance sheet for July, 1871, we find "investments realized £4,672, nett profit on ditto £1,252," showing on the investments thus sold a profit of over 25 per cent. And for some years the investments disposed of made a profit almost equal to that mentioned. It can only be surmised that not only the members, but the Board, allowed the profits made on the speculative stocks thus sold, to blind their eyes to the fact that those held were almost unremunerative, and might ultimately prove—as indeed they did—to be a source of heavy loss to the Society.

Whether this surmise is correct or not, it is at least certain, from the balance sheets, that the amount the Society invested in 1873 was nearly £100,000, and, as some £60,000 worth were disposed of, the total of investments held increased by nearly £40,000 for the year.

The first business done in the new year was the appointment of the president, Mr. Job Whiteley, to represent the Society at the meeting of Honduras bondholders, to be held in London; the thanks of the Board being given to him for his report a fortnight later. Unfortunately, the report, which might have been interesting, was only a verbal one, and is so lost to us. The next resolution of importance, passed the same night, was "That Mr. Storey be requested to prepare a list of the price of our stocks on the 4th of January, 1873, to be presented to the Board next Monday." Then came two quite legitimate uses of the Society's money, "That we apply for 500 shares in the Co-operative Printing Society," and another, "That the Society's full number of shares (7,400) be taken up in the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and that the total amount due upon them be paid up. Also that a loan of £2,000 be advanced to the Wholesale Society at 5 per cent. interest per annum."

And then, at the half-yearly meeting it was resolved that the sum of £150 be granted to the educational department, and that "a notice be printed and posted in the Central and branches, announcing that the dining rooms will be closed after Thursday, August 7th, and that all the servants of the department be given one week's notice on Thursday next." And thus, about the end of July, the long line of turbulent cooks came to an end, the

refractory scullery maids ceased from troubling, and the Board, so far as that department was concerned, were finally at rest.

A meeting of a joint committee of the Halifax and Heckmondwike Co-operative Societies was held at the latter place on the 15th of August, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of floating a new Joint Stock Company, Mr. Jas. Crabtree being in the chair. This was to take over and float as a company, a carpet manufactory which was in liquidation. The company was formed, by the two Societies, with a capital of £100,000 in £5 shares, with a Board of Management elected from both Societies, and is in existence and prosperity at the present time: the Society having some £8,400 invested in it, and two of its members on the Board.

Next, on October 6th, a rather surprising resolution of censure on the *Co-operative News*, which is as follows, "Unanimously resolved that this Board deeply regrets to see such articles inserted in the *Co-operative News* as those in last week's issue under the head of "Mr. Rutherford's special qualifications," and also "The Ousburn Engine Works and its Enemies," and hereby enters its protest against the *News* being made the medium for the reproduction and propogation of such scurrilous and contemptible articles as those alluded to. And that as the *News* is a representative of the co-operative movement, its object ought to be to unite the Co-operative Societies in one harmonious body, instead of being the vehicle for giving vent to abusive personalities."

It is here necessary to explain, briefly, what was the connection between Mr., or Dr., Rutherford, the Ousburn Engine Works, and the Halifax Industrial Society. The former was a doctor of Newcastle, who took a great interest in the co-operative movement, and was instrumental in floating the Ousburn Engine Works as a Co-operative Productive Society, and on co-operative funds. In this venture the Halifax Industrial Society had, at the time the above resolution was passed, some £10,000 invested. The Ousburn had been losing money since its commencement, having lost, it appears, some £10,000 in 1872-3 alone; and the article in the *Co-operative News*—copied from a Newcastle paper—cast some reflections on Dr. Rutherford and his management of the Ousburn engine works. It appears Rutherford, at a meeting of the O.E.W. Co. had asserted that the concern was in a stronger position than ever, and that it was the spite of "the press and the Tories," that represented otherwise, for the purpose of damaging this co-operative undertaking. The article reprinted in the *News*, at which the above vote of censure was



E. CAUKROGER - SECRETARY



J. PARKER



H. TETLAU - CHAIRMAN



F. BALDWIN



J. BARNER

FINANCE, FURNISHING, JEWELLERY, AND GENERAL
PURPOSES COMMITTEE.

aimed, was a reply to this speech of Rutherford's, and contained these remarks, "ordinary persons cannot understand how a concern which has, according to its own balance sheet, lost upwards of £10,000 during the last twelve months, can now be financially better off than it was." And to Dr. Rutherford's remarks that the concern was now being well and cheaply managed, although he was still an apprentice at the work, the article retorted that for a philanthropist Rutherford was doing very well, and said, "These are Mr. Rutherford's reasons when he is brought to book for being in receipt of £600 a year for doing the work of an apprentice. Every now and then he forgets the part he wishes to play as a great co-operator, and, of course, if the concern had yielded enough to pay every co-operator a wage of £12 a week, it would have been perfectly consistent to pay the "mere apprentice" the like amount; but it has lost £10,000, and yet the great co-operator expects to be paid a sum that will enable him to live at Elswick Hall, and ride to his work in a carriage and pair." The article also criticised Dr. Rutherford's co-operative bank, made some nasty insinuations as to its management, and ends by saying "It would be interesting to know the actual gains of a successful co-operator."

These operations of Rutherford's are over and ended long ago, and we need not now trouble as to the rights and wrongs of them. Some maintain that he was a well meaning philanthropic enthusiast, and animated by the most honourable and unselfish motives; others have a different opinion. It is sufficient for this history to record that his engine works failed, that his bank failed, that all his schemes came to grief, and that the Halifax Society lost very heavily in consequence. This explanation is really necessary, as will be seen later, and is only made for that reason.

There is little more to tell of this year, except that the educational committee and the building committee both got to work, and, though the former had but a short life of a few years, the latter continued its work from May of this year, 1873, until the April of 1892, when it was absorbed by the Board, and has continued its work since as a committee of that body. As originally formed it was really a Co-operative Building Society, purchasing land and building houses for its members, to be paid for by them by instalments; was appointed by the general meetings, and was quite independent of the Board, except that the directors had power to appoint one of themselves as a member of it. An account of the work actually done by it will be given in detail in a later chapter. The education and library com-

mittee was also independent of the Board, its functions being to found and work a library, and to undertake such educational work as they found possible—which appears to have been small—money being granted to them for those purposes.

This department was seriously hampered in the next few years by the troubles that overtook the Society, and to that cause, and to that alone, can fairly be charged its failure to do all that was expected of it.

That it was very successful cannot be maintained, and it was sold off and ended as will appear later; the books, of which there were some four thousand, being mainly sold to the Corporation when the Free Library was being formed. And then, at the last meeting for the year, it was resolved that “Mr. Woods be instructed to prepare refreshments for the stock-takers at the Central at 1/3 each,” and “that a list of the Society’s investments be prepared for the Board, shewing their cost and their market value, on the 3rd of January, 1874,” which is followed by the signature of “Job Whiteley, president,” for nearly the last time.

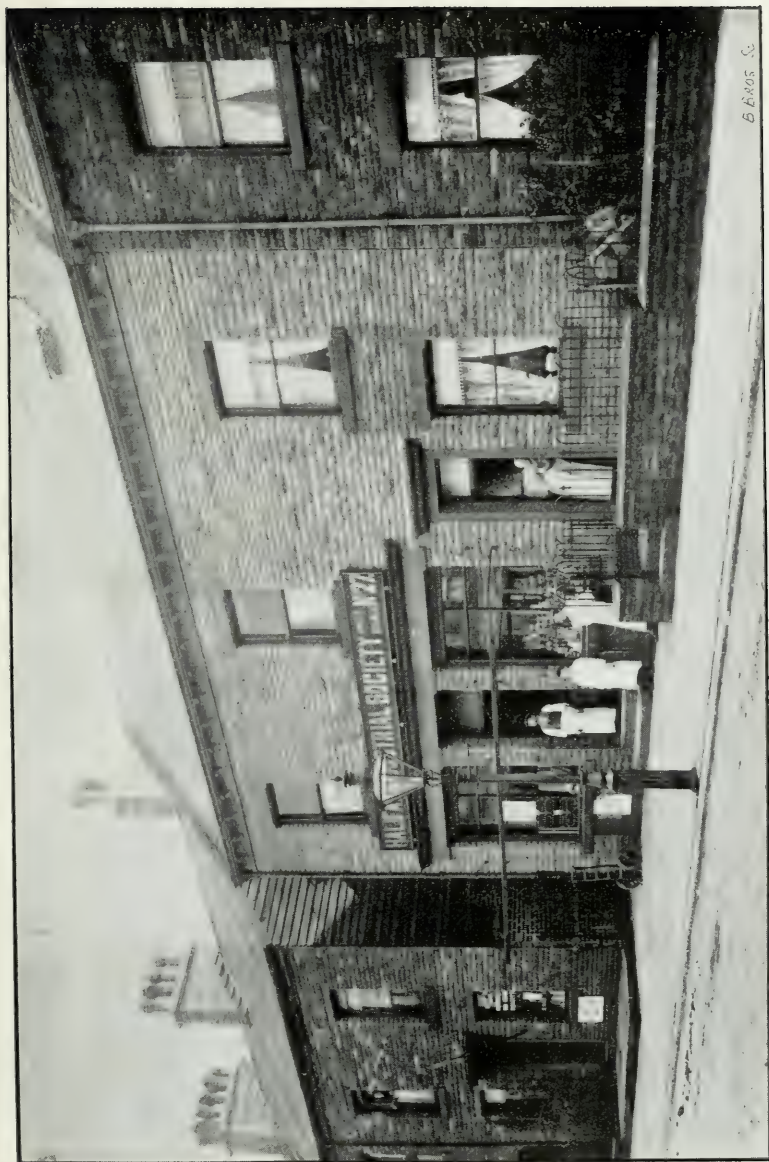
At the annual general meeting of the Society, held January 24th, 1874, Mr. Job Whiteley was replaced as president by Mr. W. H. Jackson, and was thanked for his five years’ services in that capacity. The profits for the half-year were declared at over £13,000, which allowed a bonus of 2 6, and left a sum of £78, and £200 was granted to the education committee. The meeting also recommended the Board to take steps to pay out the non-purchasing members, which might have been difficult, as the money of those members was more or less invested in stocks that were not always easy to realise, except at a loss. And that, and the passing of a resolution “that we recommend the Board to give the members of the forthcoming Congress a hearty welcome to Halifax, and to provide liberally for their entertainment.” was all that happened at the annual meeting.

This Co-operative Congress was the great event of 1874, and must have some attention, though not perhaps so much as it deserves. If the reader will bear in mind that the report of it in the *Co-operative News* filled over 80 columns, and contained about the same quantity of words as the whole of this history, it will be clear that not even an outline of its proceedings can be given, from the sheer impossibility of condensing into one page what would fill two hundred. The Congress was opened on Easter Monday, and Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P., the president for the day, gave an address which filled fifteen columns of the *News*, and was well worth the space it occupied. It was not, so Mr.

Brassey modestly said, a display of genius, but the fruit of exceedingly hard work, into which every hour he had been able to spare had recently been put. It showed that Mr. Brassey had obtained a very complete knowledge of co-operation, and had a sympathetic understanding of its aims and difficulties; it showed that he was quite alive to the vast possibilities of the movement, and did not, as a capitalist and large employer of labour, dread its extension.

It pointed out the difficulties sure to be met with in the productive branch, and gave sound advice, from his own industrial experience, of the best way to meet those difficulties, and did all this without a bit of that patronage so often heard from such speakers. He pointed out also that it is not only necessary to lay out money to advantage, but to obtain the best results, through good domestic economy, of the goods so obtained. He even went far beyond the ordinary co-operator, by advocating co-operation in the provision of higher and more sociable amusements for the people. "The English have been reproached" he said, "as a nation destitute of resources for amusement. And it is a lesson many of us have yet to learn, that time given to innocent pleasure is not wasted; and that there are other things, besides fame and money, for which it is worth while to live."

Mr. Brassey was followed by Mr. Tom Hughes, who pointed out that if co-operators had a fault, it was in grudging good wages to able and experienced managers, and asked how many co-operators would be prepared to pay an able manager £5,000 a year, as was often done by industrial firms. Here Mr. Hughes certainly touched one of the weak places in co-operative society management. Mr. Holyoake, Mr. E. V. Neal, Mr. Walter Morrison, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. E. O. Greening, and others spoke, and all in favourable terms of the president's address. Then the Congress got to work and discussed many subjects with great heat and some profit. Papers were read on various subjects, including one on "Leakage," written by Mr. Job Whiteley; and on Tuesday evening a public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Hall, at which the Mayor of Halifax, Mr. T. Wayman, took the chair and made a speech, which was not remarkable, except as a contrast to Mr. Brassey's of the previous day. Professor Goldwin Smith, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Lloyd Jones, and other gentlemen also spoke, including Mr. John Crossley, M.P., who proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor. There was of course a dinner, without which no great Yorkshire gathering would be complete, and various other junketings, which were no doubt appreciated, and need not be further described. And with a



B. 1895. S.

ASHFIELD BRANCH.

simple record of the fact that all the leading papers, London and local, had articles; in which the Congress, co-operation, labour and capital, industrial prosperity, trades unionism, and the foundations of the constitution, were gravely jumbled together in the usual manner, nothing more can, or need be, said of the Co-operative Congress.

At the forty-seventh half-yearly meeting held in July, a resolution was passed "That the question of increasing the capital or otherwise be left in the hands of the directors," and that the balance sheet be taken as read, and passed, was the sole business of the meeting. And at a special general meeting held in September to revise the rules, it was decided "That no member of this Society shall be eligible for the office of president or director who has any relation employed as a servant by the Society." This was found to be a little difficult to interpret, a "relation" being rather vague, and it was ultimately decided to specify the forbidden relations after the manner of the list in the Church of England prayer book, of those female relatives a man may not marry. It was also decided that new branches should be opened at Broad Tree, Range Bank, and Savile Park; a resolution that was not carried out for reasons soon to be made apparent.

At the monthly meeting held in November, it was proposed that a levy of 1/- per member should be made in support of the educational department, and that also was never carried out. And then, turning to the minutes of the directors' meetings, we find the stock and share business still occupying their attention, and "that the book committee be authorised to sell £5,000 Anglo American stock at 83 per share," and the week after they are ordered to purchase "a quantity of Egyptian bonds," and "that Erie shares be not converted at present." All the ordinary business was going on as usual, and in an even more flourishing state of prosperity, the Board meeting once or twice a week, and passing a dozen or more resolutions at each meeting, and the 12th and last passed at the final meeting of the year was "That a quantity of lights be boiled each week for the cats at the Central Stores, and the butchering department debit the cost to the Society." It was easy for the butchering committee to supply lights for the cats; it would have been better if they could have provided lights for the directors, in the dark days that were to come upon them in the hour of their greatest prosperity.

1875—and the directors met the annual meeting with a brief but rosy report, and congratulated it on the steady increase in the business. There was an increase of over £9,000 in the

sales, and the capital had reached £227,000; the bonus was to be 2/6 in the pound, leaving a balance of £349. The members were happy, and decided that £5 5s. 0d. should be given to the fund being raised on behalf of Mr. G. J. Holyoake, as a testimonial for his services as a co-operator; and that one or more seats be presented by the Society to the People's Park, and that it be left for the Board to arrange the matter with the Corporation. And all was well with the Society.

But have you ever built houses with playing cards, good reader? Not the modern flimsy cards, which are too slippery to stand up, and too weak to support anything when they do stand up. But the old-fashioned playing cards of twenty-five years ago or longer, which were thick and stiff, and, if a little clumsy for their proper purpose, were very good to build with. Not but what cotton reels would allow of the erection of very good towers if you could only get enough of them, which was sometimes difficult. Those who have practised either of these forms of childish architecture, will remember that when the tower of cards or cotton reels reached a certain height, there would come a breathless moment, when an almost imperceptible tremor passed through the unsubstantial tower, and warned the timid or cautious builders that the extreme limit of safety had been reached. At such a moment, when the prudent said, we have gone too far, the boldest smiled at the warning, insisted on piling yet more weight on the fragile superstructure, until, with a shudder, the insecure erection suddenly subsided.

Such a moment had now arrived for the Halifax Industrial Society. That moment when the cautious and prudent begin to doubt whether the foundation is strong enough to bear the weight it is asked to carry, and the timid, suddenly awake to the danger they have been led into, look furtively round, with fear in their hearts, and see that fear reflected in the faces of their fellows. In July, 1875, the capital of the Society was actually over £237,000, an increase of £10,000 in six months, an amount of itself, that the co-operators of twenty years earlier had never dreamt of attaining, and the sales had increased by over £4,000 in the half-year. But from that moment the profits began to fall off, and the members were decreasing. A tremor passed over the Society, and doubts of its stability were suddenly visible on many faces. It is difficult to discover how this anxiety arose, as there are no reasons perceptible in the minutes of the Board meetings. To all appearance tranquility and steady attention to details occupied the minds of the directors, and except that a

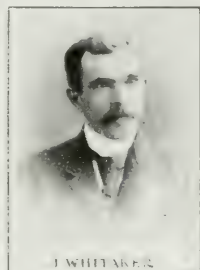
desire to sell, rather than to buy, speculative stocks had commenced, there is, in the resolutions of the Board for the latter half of 1875, no sign of anxiety.

Possibly someone had noticed that though the investments had reached the very large amount of £176,000, the income from them was only about £4,000, and therefore not sufficient by upwards of £500 to pay the interest due to those who had invested it. Nothing can be seen either, in the record of the half-yearly meeting in July, where Mr. William Thompson, who had long held the office of secretary, retired from it owing to bad health, and was replaced by Mr. Sam Hebblethwaite. The ordinary formal business was done: the usual amounts of £40 to the auditors and £60 to the directors were passed; £50 was voted to the educational committee; the thanks of the meeting were given to the president, Mr W. H. Jackson, for presiding; and that was all. Certainly withdrawals set in soon after, and members who had from one to two hundreds invested in the Society, asked for, and were given, permission to have it returned to them.

Possibly the condition of the Ousburn engine works had something to do with the uneasiness, for that undertaking was in a very shaky condition, and a resolution was passed by the Board "That we think it advisable to take the legal opinion of Mr. Travis, of Manchester, in reference to the affairs of the Ousburn company."

In September, a petition to wind up the Ousburn company was applied for by the creditors, and was granted. These extracts from a sympathetic article in the *Newcastle Chronicle* will give an idea of the difficulty; and are justly due to Dr. Rutherford. Explaining that the company was formed during the engineers' strike for nine hours a few years earlier, and got a large number of orders during that time which could not be placed elsewhere; and that when the strike ended and prices rose, the company had large contracts on hand that could not possibly pay. The article proceeds—

"Presently however, when the trade had resumed its normal condition, and people could place their orders where they choose, there cropped up that prejudice against co-operation which had been kept in abeyance by the circumstances of the time. While the unprofitable orders were being worked off, considerable difficulty was experienced in getting fresh ones. To do so it was necessary to tender at prices which left very small profits, and it was difficult to obtain such orders from first class firms even then. In ordinary commercial circles



GROCERY, BUTCHERING, AND STABLES COMMITTEE.

from the very moment the end of the strike had restored option as to choice, the co-operative establishment was tabooed—Dr. Rutherford has done his best. He entered upon this great experiment with the sole object of benefiting the working men of England—or rather of showing them systematically how they could benefit themselves. And but for the two serious misfortunes we have described, the Ousburn engine works would have been not merely a profitable investment, but the beginning of a new era in the annals of labour.”

And thus ended the history of the Ousburn works, for by December the concern was in the hands of the liquidators, and it was decided to call a meeting of the bondholders, loanholders, and shareholders, “To take into consideration the advisability of forming a new company on the joint stock principle, if the parties interested, shareholders, and creditors would allow their money to remain at such a rate of interest as can be agreed on.”

It was also agreed on the same evening, that the drill shed be engaged for the next half-yearly meeting, which is clear proof that the directors had reason to expect a much larger meeting than usual. No light is discoverable from the December monthly meeting, for a vote of thanks to the president for his services in the chair was the only resolution passed.

Before closing this chapter the purchase of St. John's estate in Wakefield, by the Halifax, Ossett, Dewsbury, and Batley Carr Societies, should be mentioned. This was a building plot of some thirty acres, which was taken over by the above Societies, and proved to be a very profitable investment, being disposed of finally in 1877, the share of this Society being £1,741, which came in very useful at a time when money was very short.

And the year came to an end with ill defined signs of trouble, though other concerns besides that of the Ousburn, in which the Society had money, had got, or were getting into difficulties. And so in a gloomy atmosphere of anxiety, the directors ended the year with an order for 8,000 co-operative almanacks for 1876, and that year, 1876, will be for ever memorable in the history of the Society, and must have a chapter to itself.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CRISIS, AND HOW IT WAS MET.

Year.	Members.	Capital.	Sales.	Profits.
1876 Jan. ..	7,216 ..	£216,556 ..	£270,489 ..	£25,572
„ Dec. ..	7,020 ..	204,440 ..	237,754 ..	19,528

WHEN the directors met in January, they found themselves face to face with a report from the auditors, unpleasant enough to shake the steadiest believer in the Society. It was to this effect: "We are sorry to have to present a balance sheet this time showing no profit for interest and bonus, on account of the considerable depreciation in the value of moneys invested, apart from the ordinary business. We hope you will cheerfully abide by the sacrifice at this juncture, and thus make the capital secure, and remove a serious hindrance to the progress of the Society. Yours respectfully, the Auditors." The annual general meeting—which happened to be the fiftieth—was fixed for Jan. 22nd, for which date the Drill Hall had already been engaged, and a resolution was passed by the Board "That the editors of the local papers be informed that no reporters will be allowed to take notes at the general meeting." The Board also sent Mr. Storey to London to attend a meeting for the re-organisation of the Atlantic and Great Western Railway, in which they were deeply concerned, and also to consult the sharebrokers to the company, as to the position and prospects of the other investments of the Society. And then came the general meeting. The directors' report was as follows:

"Your directors regret to have to report to you that the sales for the past half-year show some decrease when compared with the corresponding period of 1874. Comparing the two half-years, they find there is a decrease in the grocery and flour department of £2,387, furnishing and jewellery £296, drapery £1,257, clogging £43, butchering £477, coal £130, and farming £249. In the tailoring department there is an increase of £12, and in the boot and shoe of £214. The sales for the branches are £79,266, showing a decrease of £2,495.

The sales for the half-year amount to £130,705 14s. 11½d., and, compared with the business of the second half of 1874,

show a decrease of £7,107 19s. 11½d. The total sales for 1875 amount to £270,498 14s. 11½d., and for 1874 to £273,186 8s. 4½d., showing a falling off, for the whole year, of only £2,687 13s. 5d. The sum of £16,503 3s. 3d., had been received in contributions, and £37,053 3s. 3d. paid on account of withdrawals, thus reducing the capital to the extent of £20,549 4s. 1d. The capital now stands at £216,556 8s. 11d.

The amount realised on the trading transactions of the Society for the half-year is £16,622 13s. 4d., which, under ordinary circumstances, would be available for the payment of bonus and interest. If you will refer to the accompanying balance sheet, presented by the auditors, you will find that they have appropriated the whole of the balance to the reduction of the cost of the investments. Your directors recommend, however, that out of the available balance the interest should be paid, and a bonus of 2/- in the pound, and the remainder, about £900, be appropriated to the reduction of the investments.

They regret that the investments stand so much below cost, but are persuaded they have seen the worst, and indulge the hope that with patience and forbearance on the part of the members, coupled with their purchasing power being kept up, to be able to surmount all difficulties. Your directors recommend you to purchase exclusively at your stores, as they feel persuaded you can do so as cheaply as anywhere else.—Yours respectfully,

THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT."

The annual meeting, held on Saturday, January 22nd, was a large and deeply interested one, and the first thing it did was to resolve "That the balance sheet be rejected, and the report of the directors recommending the interest to be paid, and a bonus of 2 - in the pound, be adopted." Indeed that, the passing of the ordinary resolutions and nominations of officials, and a vote of sympathy with Mr. Leonard Storey, who had been injured, but not very seriously, in a railway accident at Huntingdon, with a vote of thanks to the president, Mr. W. H. Jackson, for taking the chair, is all that was done at the meeting. At a special meeting held at the end of it though, it was decided that the following clause be added to Rule 11, "That the Board of Directors at any time shall have power to limit the amount of withdrawals if the circumstances of the Society render it necessary." This Rule 11 was as follows, "Members may withdraw any sum not exceeding £1 on application to the clerk, £2 10s. 0d. on application to the committee, or otherwise according to the following scale of notice:—



TROOPER LANE BRANCH.

From	£2	10	0	to	£5	0	0	2 weeks
..	5	0	0	..	10	0	0	3 ..
..	10	0	0	..	20	0	0	4 ..
..	20	0	0	..	30	0	0	5 ..
..	30	0	0	..	40	0	0	6 ..
..	45	0	0	..	50	0	0	7 ..
..	50	0	0	..	60	0	0	8 ..
..	60	0	0	..	70	0	0	9 ..
..	70	0	0	..	80	0	0	10 ..
..	80	0	0	..	90	0	0	11 ..
..	90	0	0	..	100	0	0	12 ..

And in the same proportion up to £200.

The rule, as amended, was the same as the above, with this addition, slightly altered from the resolution given above. "The committee of management can make other arrangements with the members, and may pay withdrawals without the said notice, but shall have the power to suspend withdrawals altogether, if the circumstances of the Society render it necessary."

The circumstances of the Society *did* render it necessary, and that speedily; for the fall in stocks, the fall in trade, and the gloomy reports of the auditors and directors, caused a desire on the part of the members to withdraw, that soon became epidemic.

Consequently the Board were not long in taking advantage of the new power conferred upon them, for they decided on Feb. 3rd, "that no more notices of withdrawal be accepted until further notice." That this was necessary on the part of the Board is clear, for two reasons. They were already short of ready money, and beginning to consider the desirability of realising some of their assets, and the anxiety of the timid to get out would soon have made business impossible. Even after putting the new rule in force, the Board allowed, for various, no doubt satisfactory, reasons, the withdrawal of considerable sums. At the Board meeting on Feb. 10th, for example, they consented to the withdrawal of £41 by seven members, on the 14th of £69 10s. by nine members, and on the 21st of £331 by 17 members. The business of the Society was also decreasing, and many concerns in which it was interested were in difficulties. One of these was the Leeds, Morley and District Co-operative coal mining and building society, which went into liquidation; another was the Ousburn engine works, which was going from bad to worse. The directors invited Mr. Wm. Nuttall, one of the liquidators of the Ousburn works, to attend the monthly meeting in March, and lay before the members a statement of the

affairs of that unfortunate company, and the course he would advise the Society to take. Mr. Nuttall attended that meeting, and recommended the Society to advance additional capital, with other interested parties, for the reconstruction of the company.

This was not so easy to do as to recommend, yet the directors managed it, by getting the Co-operative Wholesale Society to help them in the matter. The harassed Board also endeavoured to persuade other Societies holding Ousburn shares to adopt a similar course. This course was partly successful, for in April the Board decided to unite with the Wholesale and other Societies, to purchase the Ousburn works, if satisfactory terms could be arranged. And in August it was decided that Messrs. Mitchell and Stevenson, directors, be authorised to sign a memorandum of agreement to purchase, with other Co-operative Societies, the Ousburn works, for £26,000, if the mortgagees would agree. The intending purchasers then had "to contest a bill of sale held by the Industrial Bank"—another of Dr. Rutherford's creations—who proposed selling the Ousburn works by auction.

Leaving these negotiations, which were long and contentious, we must return to the Board, who were almost at their wits end for ready money. To meet this deficiency they were realising their assets; vacant land and unnecessary buildings; part of the St. John's estate at Wakefield, previously mentioned; and such shares as were readily saleable at a good price. In one case they sold shares in the Heckmondwike manufacturing company at a reduction from £5 to £4 each, to the amount of £2,400.* And in the meantime requests from members who desired to withdraw were flowing in, despite the decision of the Board not to allow such withdrawals. Some of these applications are funny enough reading now, but must have been anything but a laughing matter to the anxious directors. Some of these, which are written on all kinds of scraps of paper, with all manner of pens, and in every variety of handwriting, shall be given verbatim. The first, which is on a scrap of paper four inches square, is as follows—names only, in each case, being reserved:—

"William H C—— Greetland Number 7004 wishes to withdraw twenty pounds for he wants it for his own purpose according to your rules you will want a monts notice "

The next, on half a sheet of note paper, is as follows:—

*This was not a sale of shares, though the minute gives that impression, but simply a withdrawal of £1 per share on 2,400 shares held by the Society.

"To the president and vice-president of the Halifax Industrial So Limited I John M—— beg leave to give notice for to with draw the sum of £2039 (?) acording to the 11th rule. My number is 9500.

John M——. Copey kept."

The amount in the latter notice is written as it is here printed ; but probably stands for £20 3s. 9d.

Another, on half a sheet of note paper, entirely filled on both sides with sprawling penmanship, is as follows:—

"Mr. Storey dear sir will you please remit me the five pounds and the little interest Joseph C—— No. 5830 Yours truley, Southport June 15. i came over to Halifax purposely before and you had gone to Wakefield so I had a wast earand wich i think had you been at home I should have got it hoping to hear by return of post."

The next is on a scrap of paper about three inches square—indeed many of these notices are on scraps of paper suggestive of keen economy.

"Popples Ovenden June 7th I Hannah P—— beg leave to withdraw fifty nine pounds according to the 11 rule my number 2118 Hannah P—— copy kept."

The next, on a fragment of packing paper, runs diagonally across, and is to this effect:—

"July 29 1876 This is to give notice that is that i receive 35 pounds yours an seterer Nathan S——."

Another of a similar order, the writing cramped up in the top half of the paper, is as follows:—

"7658 William F—— July 31 West Vale I write these few lines to you that I want to draw the amount of £50."

Here is a specimen of another variety, well written and well set out:—

"To the Directors of the Industrial Society.

Gentlemen, I hereby give you notice that I intend to withdraw the whole of my money from the above society.

Dated this 17th day of June, 1876.

Number 4056.

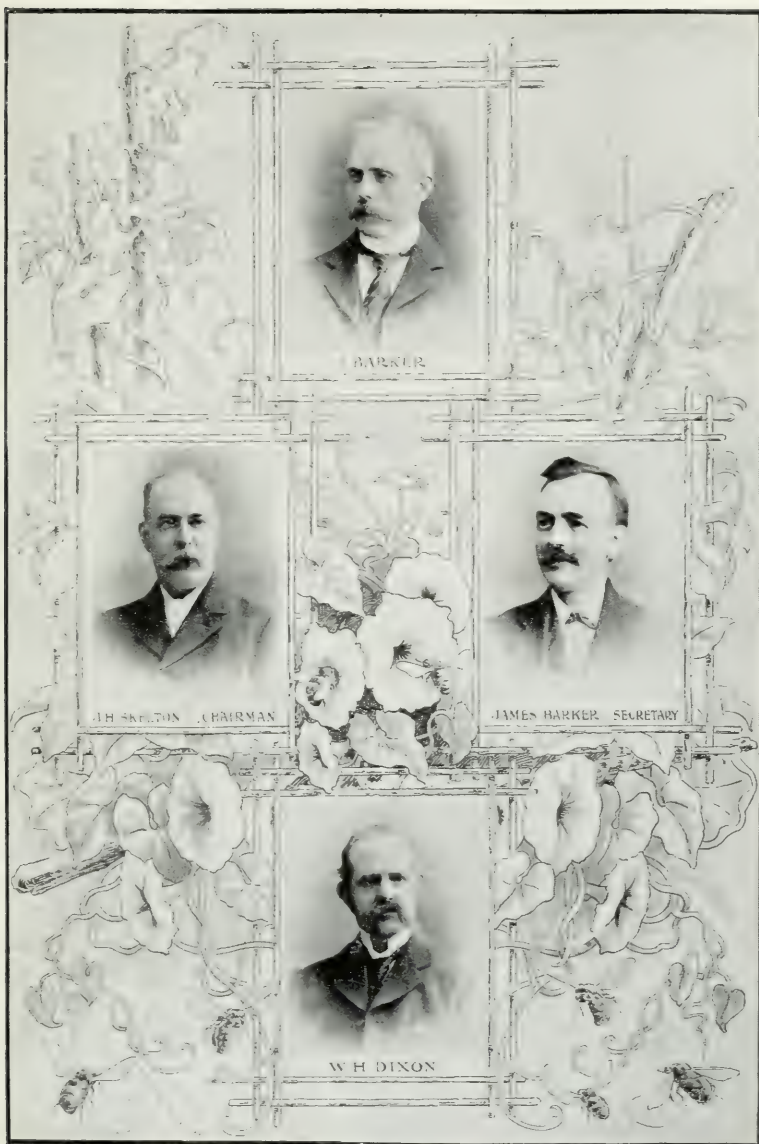
James H——."

Some are evidently aware of the alteration of rule, and try to persuade the directors to grant their request on various grounds. These two for example:—

"Gentlemen,

Shelf June 1876.

In consequence of having to work short time I am pressed for money. And having plenty of spare time I am thinking of starting a little business of my own. And I should take it as a great favour if you would advance me



LINEN AND WOOLLEN DRAPERY AND BOOT AND SHOE COMMITTEE.

the sum of 60. I am perfectly aware of the resolution to the contrary and I can assure you I should never have made this application but necessity compells me. Hoping you will be able to grant my request. I remain Humbly yours Featherstone T——."

"Keighley August 26, 1876.

Gentlemen, It is above twelve months since I removed from halifax to this part but I have neglected to inform the secretary of my removal. Just lately I have had my wife very poorly in bed and I have had to run a little in debt. And my creditor threatens to put me to laws if I do not meet a certain payment which I am unable to do at present. And what I write to you at present is to see if you could let me have the money out that I have in your society or a part of it, as it would do me a great favour if you could do so at present According to rule 13. My number is 9619.

Yours Humbly, Robert H——."

Then come the more peremptory and less humble variety, as thus;—

"To the Halifax Industrial Society.

I Benjamin F—— give you twenty-eight days' notice on behalf of myself, and Hannah F—— my wife, and likewise Ann C—— and Elizabeth D—— also Joseph F——. We the above have a balance in your hands of £404 with interest. We have applied to you personally and could get no satisfaction about it. We hereby give you notice in writing that unless the above be paid at the expiration of this notice I shall take further proceedings. Yours Benj. F——."

"June 29 1876.

Mr. Helliwell Sir

Your reply is to hand I have had no notice for a meeting being called for altering No. 11 rule, and not being a legal meeting I still adhere to the 11 rule and consider my notice good.

Yours resp John Smith."

A little later another variety, in the form of solicitor's letters, came to entertain the poor directors; of this kind one specimen will suffice:—

"Gentlemen The undersigned Sally M—— widow and administratrix of the estate and effects of my late husband John M—— of 32 Oates Street Mount Pleasant Halifax Mechanic who died intestate on or about the fifth day of April last do hereby give you and each of you notice and require you to pay to me as administratrix as aforesaid the sum of £49 deposited in the society by and in the name of the intestate

in his lifetime as per pass book No. 2788 with such interest as may have accrued thereon on Friday the 10th day of November next for the purpose of distribution among the parties entitled thereto according to law.

Dated this 12th day of August 1876.

Sally X M—— her mark.

Witnessed by &c. — Solicitor Halifax.”

Meanwhile rumours got about that all was not right with the “Co-op.” anxiety on the part of the members was not only general but visible, while smiles broke out on the features of many shopkeepers, who, being but human, are excuseable.

This brings us to the half-yearly meeting, at which the directors had again to report, with regret, that the business of the Society had suffered “to a considerable extent during the past half-year.” The decrease of sales was over £19,000. The nett profits were stated to be £10,299, and the directors recommended that a bonus of 2/- in the £ be paid, and the balance applied to the reduction of the investments.

Of these the directors said “with regard to the investments, your directors regret that they are still much below par, but entertain the hope that with a return to better trade they will gradually improve.” but the prospect was, to put it mildly, not a hopeful one.

Indeed the voice of rumour was heard to whisper that there were no profits, strictly speaking, and a hint was circulated, it is supposed by evilly disposed persons in the garb of shopkeepers, intended to convey the impression that the “divi.” was actually being paid out of the capital of the shareholders.

This rumour, which was unfounded, caused a good deal of excitement at the half-yearly meeting above alluded to; the opposing interests of the purchasing members, who held, generally, few shares; and the non-purchasing members, who held many shares: leading to acrimonious charges and counter charges. The real co-operators, whose purchases earned the only real profits the Society ever made, were averse to their honestly earned bonus being handed over to the mere investors; while those who had, during the last few years, deluged the Society with unnecessary capital, angrily demanded that their interest should be paid, or their money returned, even though that course made a bonus on purchases impossible.

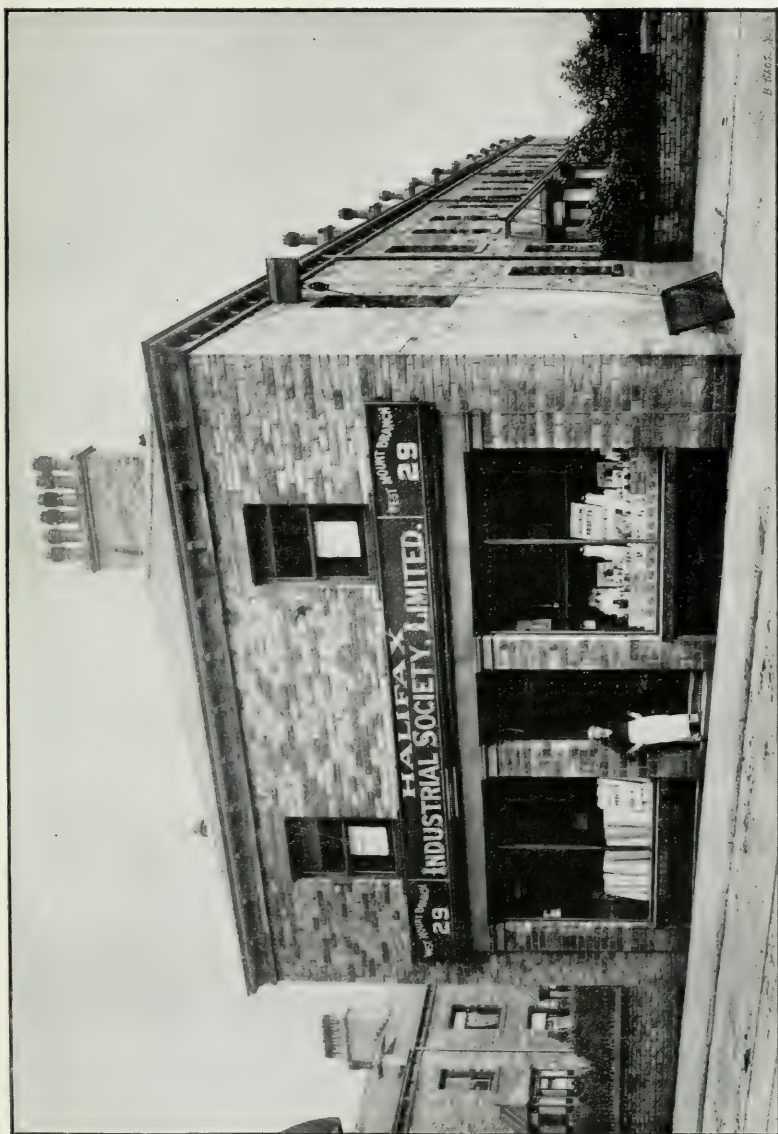
The latter were in a minority however, and the balance sheet and report given above were adopted.

Naturally, these antagonistic interests led to a further fall in the business of the Society: and purchasers who had, in many

cases, only a few shillings in the Society, ceased to be members and ceased to be purchasers, on the ground that part of the profit they earned was being abstracted to pay five per cent. interest to investors whose capital was valueless to the Society. And on the other hand, these investors, whose only hope of getting either their interest or their capital, was dwindling away as the business decreased, began to agitate for the winding-up of the Society, while some part of their money was yet obtainable.

Here then at last, the directors were face to face with the inevitable disaster the rashness of their predecessors and the cupidity of some of their members had prepared for them. The house of cards was tottering; the unsubstantial foundation of scrips and shares was giving way beneath them; the new Eldorado that looked so alluring from a distance was at length found to be a barren, miasmatic swamp, that bid fair to engulf those who had so confidently believed in it. And the poor directors were thus confronted with the difficulty and responsibility of saving the Society from impending disaster; a task they undertook with characteristic Yorkshire grit and courage, backed as they were by their energetic and capable adviser, Mr. Leonard Storey, who never moulted a feather of his courage and confidence. Still, the directors had some anxious hours, and many melancholy meetings; for the lawyers' letters which had succeeded the demands already quoted, were themselves succeeded by a shower of writs that pattered on the devoted heads of the directors.

Instigated thereto, as it was supposed, by persons anxious for the downfall of the Society, some of its shareholders took legal steps for the compulsory winding-up of the concern; and served writs on the directors, as defendants. Then the tongue of rumour, which had been whispering, began to shout, and the wildest reports were finding credulous hearers in all directions. The "Co-op" was going to bank! The bailiffs were already "in!" The directors were to be tried and imprisoned for various possible and impossible crimes and misdemeanours! The original plaintiff in this cause was one Mrs. Sarah Hannah Hudson, better known as "Betty long stocking," whose tall angular figure, and the pony and cart from which she purveyed greengrocery were well-known to the Halifax of those days. It was supposed that Mrs. Hudson was instigated to take proceedings, by certain tradesmen who had no liking for the Society. Whether this was so or not, the proceedings were instituted by Mrs. Hudson and others against Mr. W. H. Jackson, the president; Mr. W. H. Hey, vice-president; and Messrs. Driver Barker, Joseph Child, Jas.



Cunningham, Jos. Downsborough, Robert Fielding, Henry Firth, Samuel Hanson, R. H. Mitchell, F. R. Stevenson, Henry Sutcliffe, and John Todd, directors: and the members of the Halifax Industrial Society.

This document contained some serious charges; amongst others, that the directors had invested large sums in securities not authorised by the Acts of Parliament they were bound by; and further, that they "published and circulated a statement of accounts in July, 1876, well knowing the same to be erroneous, and pretending to show a balance of profit amounting to £10,299 17s. 2d.; and a bonus was declared and paid to some of the members." "It is a fact," the petition went on, "that the said accounts, when properly taken and investigated, indicate a heavy loss, and that the bonus declared was paid out of the capital of the company." It also stated that "they had committed many breaches of trust and acted in total disregard of the said rules, and are no longer fit to be entrusted with the management of the Society." And it further stated, "The defendants, in order to conceal their improper conduct, and to prevent the affairs of the said defendant Society from becoming known, caused a rule to be passed in the early part of the year, 1876, giving them power to suspend withdrawals, and decline to allow the plaintiff to withdraw."

This petition was ordered, by the county court Judge, to be heard on the 15th of November; and the Board at once set about their preparations for meeting the troubles that surrounded them. Several local gentlemen, who sympathised with the Society, offered advice; and Mr. E. Vansittart Neal, of the Co-operative Union, Manchester—a gentleman of much business experience—was called in to advise the Board; Mr. Richard Horsfall was instructed to re-value the assets of the Society; and Messrs. Norris and Foster, solicitors, were ordered to oppose the claim of Hudson and others. The directors are not to be envied at this time of crisis, as they deliberated anxiously in the Board room, while an excited crowd of shareholders waited in the street below, in the hope of getting some inkling of the conclusions arrived at when the deliberations were over.

A scheme was propounded which will appear later; and the members of the Board were dispatched North, South, East and West, to commend it to meetings of members at the various branches. These meetings were excited and even turbulent, but, in spite of angry opposition, decided by large majorities to support the scheme of the Board; and a special meeting was called for Saturday, October 21st, to be held in the Drill Hall, to finally

consider the scheme of the directors. In the meantime a list of stocks and shares held by the Society, showing their cost and estimated value, was issued by the press, which showed that what had cost the Society £113,534 were estimated to be worth £64,322, showing a loss of £49,272. This, though less than it ultimately proved to be, was nothing like so bad as the reports in circulation had declared.

The directors also issued an address to the shareholders, in which, after pointing out the cause of the disaster, they said: "It is incumbent upon us to face our present difficulties boldly, and ask your consent to a plan by which those who may desire to withdraw from the Society will be able to obtain the full share of their interest in it, according to its present value; while those who desire to remain, who, we have no doubt, form the great majority, will by a slight temporary sacrifice be able to preserve in full efficiency the institution of which they know how to appreciate the importance. For this purpose we have employed Mr. Richard Horsfall, surveyor, to value all our real property at a fair market price. The items of this valuation are set out in the annexed account. You will see that the total amounts to £44,363; to this sum we have added our stock-in-trade, at invoice prices, £30,326; of our investments, at market prices of this day, £87,394; making a total of £162,083. Deducting debts owing by the Society, £6,551, we obtain as the present value of the subscribed capital of £207,876 the sum of £155,532, showing a deficit of £51,844, or five shillings a share. That is to say, the present value of each share, supposing the property of the Society was realised to-day, is fifteen shillings. This sum we propose to pay to members who wish to withdraw, as the full value of shares so withdrawn." It was also proposed, and ultimately decided, to reduce the interest on shares from 5 to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

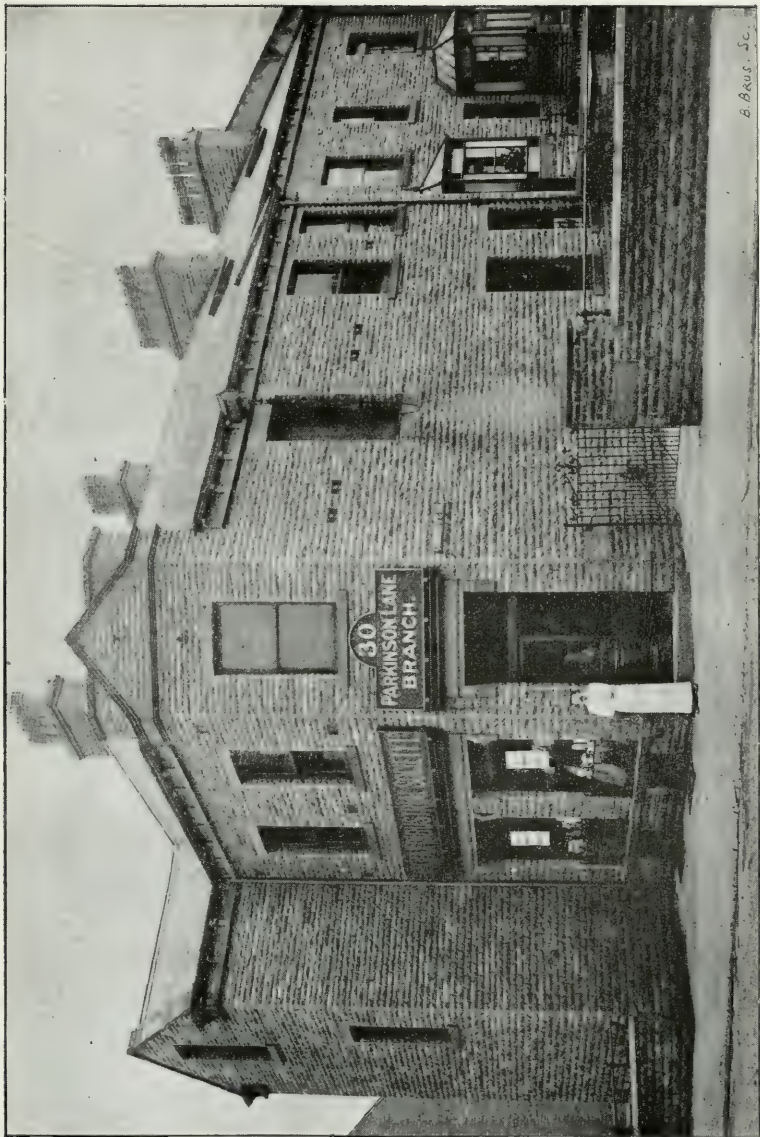
As to those not wishing to withdraw, they proposed to reduce the share capital to the same nominal value, and to form a redemption fund to pay off the losses of the Society, and ended by stating that "A series of resolutions to carry out these proposals have been prepared, and will be submitted to the meeting to be held in the Drill Hall, on Saturday, October 21st, at which your attendance, if possible, is earnestly requested."

This meeting was a memorable one. The large hall was filled long before five o'clock, the hour for commencing, and was densely crowded in every corner by the excited members when the business commenced. The president, Mr. William Henry Jackson, was in the chair, and trusted they would pass the

recommendations of the directors; that the eyes of the country were upon them, and everyone was asking whether they would be bold and magnanimous enough to make a little sacrifice, or would they allow a mere handful to tread them underfoot. His remarks were greeted with a storm of applause, and Mr. Jas. Whitehead, an old president, moved the first resolution, setting forth that the meeting had full confidence in the directors, and engaged to protect them against any attempt to make them personally responsible for the Society's losses. He pointed out that the directors, a few years ago, began speculating to clear off a debt, and not being satisfied went on, with the best intentions to make a great profit; and that this was with the knowledge and consent of the members. The resolution was seconded by Mr. William Thompson, and carried. The next, moved by Mr. John Dickenson, was, that it was inexpedient to wind the Society up, and that the Board be instructed to oppose the petition for that purpose to the utmost of their power. This was seconded by Mr. Jonas Crossland, and also carried.

Mr. John Shillito proposed the next resolution, setting forth that it would be unfair to take the profit made by the purchasers to pay the losses of the shareholders. He said it was asked that the Society should not be allowed to pay any bonus until the losses were made up; that bonus had made the Society; that by continuing the bonus they would retain the trade by which they had lived and by which they would again thrive. Mr. Henry Sutcliffe seconded the resolution, which was also unanimously carried.

Mr. Joseph Foreman, another old president, moved, "That bearing in mind the objects for which the Society was founded, the balance sheets presented to the members have, in the opinion of this meeting, been properly framed." All they had to do was to have faith in the Society and each other, and all would come right. He was glad to see such a huge muster of working men there to look after their own interests; and if they had always done that they would never have got into their present position. Mr. Lawson seconded the resolution; and then a member rose in the gallery to move an amendment. This was Mr. Shuttleworth, whose first statement—that the remarks they had listened to were to some extent untrue—led to a disturbance that completely drowned his voice. Amid the hubbub could be heard cries of "sit down," "blow thi nooase," "put a fresh bobbin i' thi shuttle," "shut up," while similar interjections punctuated all his further remarks. He declared that it was inexpedient to pass the resolution which was detrimental to their own interests, and



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accused the directors of having hoodwinked the members; and ultimately, at the chairman's request, moved that the resolution should not be passed. There was no seconder to the amendment; the uproar was continuous, and Mr. Shuttleworth could still be heard angrily disputing in the gallery, when amid cries of "put the resolution," and "I beg leave to move we turn him out," the resolution was put and carried unanimously, amid enthusiastic cheering.

Mr. Clarke Wilson moved the next resolution, "That the meeting was satisfied that the bonus had been paid out of profits on the trade of the Society." This was seconded by Mr. E. Hey, and also carried unanimously. The recommendations of the directors were also adopted, on the motion of Messrs. Thomas Hutchins and John Todd. A committee of seven members—three from the Board and four chosen by the meeting—were appointed to revise the rules of the Society; and so the meeting concluded, and the hot and excited members poured out of the hall and dispersed in all directions, still talking and arguing loudly, and the directors once more breathed freely, for with the vast majority of the members backing them, they felt the anxiety that had so heavily oppressed them was already beginning to pass away.

And thus the crisis was courageously faced and overcome, for the petition to wind up the Society was withdrawn by agreement, one-fourth of the property was written off as lost, and the vast majority of the members accepted the situation and determined to bear the sacrifices called for to make their Society once more what it had been. But the directors were still anxious and serious, for they suspected what ultimately proved to be the case—that eight or nine shillings in the pound was nearer the actual value of their assets than the fifteen they had decided to put them down at. This was proved by a report issued by the Board in 1891, when the shares were once more declared at their full value. This report, which will be mentioned in its proper place, shows that the actual loss by the Society's rush into the Stock Exchange speculations was *double* the amount at which in 1876 it had been estimated.

Little more need be said of this eventful year, beyond the fact that some of the directors and many of the members were anxious that the speculative stocks held by the Society should be got rid of as soon as possible; and it was decided at the monthly meeting, in November, that the Erie Railway shares and the Atlantic and Great Western of Canada bonds should be sold at once, although it was urged by some that it would be wiser to

await better times. It was also decided that no almanac should be published for 1877; but that the amount they had previously cost should be added to the redemption account. At the monthly meeting, in December, it was further decided "That in future our investments be inserted on the balance sheet separately, on the same principle as is adopted by the Manchester Wholesale Society;" and with the best thanks of the meeting to the president for his services, the business of this year of turmoil and trouble came quietly to an end.

In concluding this chapter, an anonymous pamphlet, published after the great meeting, and dealing with the cause of the trouble and the best way to avoid its recurrence, should be mentioned. It dealt in a very friendly, sensible, and temperate way with the subject, under the heads of the past, the present, and the future. It summed up the past in these words: 1st—the retail trading business of the Society had always been a great success; 2nd—that success attracted men who invested to make a profit, and not to buy in the co-operative spirit; 3rd—speculation in stocks and shares, though a legitimate business, is not one which the Society should have entered into; 4th—the great body of the members have not taken sufficient interest in the management of the Society; 5th—the directors have been too willing to accept the responsibility thus left to them; 6th—when the directors found that the Society was getting into difficulties, they were not prompt enough in calling in the members to decide what should be done; 7th—that the whole Society is thus responsible for what has occurred, and, from the past, must draw lessons for the future. In conclusion, the writer of the pamphlet prophesied that the Society would overcome all its difficulties, and rise to still greater and undreamed of successes, and concluded: "When that time comes, the way in which the Halifax Society struggled through its difficulties will, it is to be hoped, be regarded as one of the great historic triumphs of co-operation."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PERIOD OF RECOVERY.

Date.	Members.	Capital.	Sales.	Profit.	Dividend.	
		£	£	£	1st half	2nd half.
1877 ..	6,930 ..	186,446 ..	237,447 ..	18,779 ..	2/0	2/0
1878 ..	6,720 ..	167,217 ..	209,571 ..	15,031 ..	2 0	1/9
1879 ..	6,639 ..	161,101 ..	190,067 ..	14,911 ..	2/0	2 0
1880 ..	6,735 ..	156,178 ..	204,520 ..	16,259 ..	2/0	2/0

IN treating of this long period of recovery, it will not be possible, or indeed necessary, to go into so much detail as in the earlier part of the history. To record the weekly doings of the directors, the ordinary resolutions and minute details of their almost daily work, would entail much tedious repetition of what has already been sufficiently described. It will be understood all through the year 1876, as through every year before and after it, that the settling of prices, the ordering of repairs and alterations, the raising or lowering of prices, and of wages, went on continuously; and that at the most anxious moments of an anxious time; the minutes are full of the petty details that could never be ignored or neglected, however preoccupied the minds of the Board might be with more heroic deeds. For the future these details will be mainly omitted, and only the important events dealt with.

Turning then to the fifty-second half-yearly report of the directors, we find they "have great pleasure in submitting a statement of the Society's accounts for the past half-year, which, considering the still continued depression in trade, and the extreme difficulties the Society has had to contend with, in consequence of a few of the members making an attempt to break up this institution, is very gratifying." This report showed a decrease in the total sales of £13,391 for the half-year; £2,040 had been received, and £6,610 paid out in subscriptions; the nominal capital stood at £204,440; the nett profit was £9,529, allowing for a bonus of 2/-, and £239 to be applied to the reduction of the redemption account. They concluded by mentioning that; "considering the large amount of exceptional expenses which have had to be met this half-year, your directors feel satisfied that you may look for a considerable decrease in the expenses for the future, and this will assist in reducing the redemption account."

It will be guessed that in the straitened circumstances to which the directors were reduced, that the educational branch, the building department, and the opening of new stores, were not encouraged. Indeed no new branches were opened after the



AUDITORS.

June of 1873, when the Mixenden one commenced, until the July of 1882—a period of nine years. At the annual meeting on Jan. 20th, 1877, the balance sheet was adopted, the usual grant of £40 to the auditors and of £60 to the directors, was passed, and a resolution “that in future all contributions received be paid interest at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum only, was adopted. Mr. Wm. H. Jackson was re-elected president, Mr. Dixon Lumb superseded Mr. Sam Hebblethwaite as secretary, and the Board commenced its duties for the year.

The first thing they did was to offer something more solid than their thanks to Mr. E. V. Neal for his services during the difficulties they had just passed through: but, as the minutes record “Mr. Neal could not accept any testimonial for his services, because the rules of the Central Co-operative Board would not permit him; but that if we would assist the Congress Board with a grant of money from our Society, he would be quite as well satisfied as if we had given it to him.” A grant of one half-penny per head was therefore paid out of the funds of the Society to the Congress Board, and the best thanks of the meeting given to Mr. Neal. This graceful act shows that the co-operators were not so absorbed in their own losses, or so parsimonious, as to make them oblivious of the debt of gratitude they owed to Mr. Neal, or unwilling to recognise and discharge it so far as they were able. Then came a tea party in the Drill Hall to celebrate the triumph of the Society over all its afflictions, a party at which mutual congratulations and substantial refreshments were copiously partaken of, and of which no more need be said.

The next duty of the Society was to appoint representatives on the directorate of the Tyne Engine Works, which was the old Ousburn works re-constituted. For this duty Messrs. A. Thornton and W. Charnock were appointed, and had anything but an easy task before them, as the sequel proved. At the monthly meeting in April, discussion took place on the duty of the directors to purchase their supplies from the Wholesale Co-operative instead of in the open market. To this the directors replied that they should be willing to do so if they could obtain goods at the same price and quality as they could elsewhere; which seems to imply that such was not always the case, and ultimately a resolution was adopted that the meeting had perfect confidence in the directors and their judgment. It was also decided that as the Board were not in a position to make grants to the educational committee, that all members using the library or the news-room should be charged 3d. a quarter for the privilege.

Then came an important resolution, about which the Board were not all of one mind, which shall be given as it stands: "Taking into consideration the expression of opinion of the members of the Society at various monthly and other meetings, the desirability of selling some of our stocks in other companies, your directors having watched, for some time, the fluctuations in value of the Great Eastern shares, think they have about reached their highest point, it was moved by Mr. Mitchell, seconded by Mr. Hutchins, that Mr. Storey instruct our brokers to sell our Great Eastern shares at not less than £50 each, and as much more as he can realise for them." This was followed by a still more important decision, at the next meeting, which ran as follows:—"A statement having been made by the book committee that a number of members are desirous of withdrawing their capital at the reduced rate; and showing that if the whole of our Eries and Atlantic stock could be sold at the market quotations, they would realise a thousand pounds over the October statements; and that a further sum of £2,000 could be credited to the redemption fund, by paying out the capital, so realised, to our members." Consequently it was resolved that 1,250 Eries, and 1,000, 200 and 700 of the Atlantic 1st, 2nd and 3rd mortgages should be at once disposed of. It was argued at the time, and has been maintained since, that more might have been made of these investments had they been held for better times: but it is difficult to see how, in that case, the members were to be paid out, as there was nothing to pay them with! That the Society lost money by these transactions is clear, as they had to dispose of stock that had cost some twenty-five shillings to repay every fifteen shillings that was withdrawn. But it is difficult to see what else they could have done, though fault-finding is such an easy proceeding.

The directors began their report to the half-yearly meeting with the expression of their great pleasure that notwithstanding the great depression in trade, there had been an increase of sales to the extent of £1,584 for the half-year, and showing a decrease of only £1,543 when compared with the corresponding half-year in 1876. They also mentioned that while only £800 had been received as share capital £12,215 had been withdrawn, that the nett profit, after providing £4,835 for interest and redemption account, and £688 for depreciation, was £9,560, allowing a bonus of 2/- and leaving a balance of £77. And, after referring to the redemption account, they concluded by urging every member to use their utmost endeavours to extend the influence of co-operation, and by remaining themselves loyal to the principles

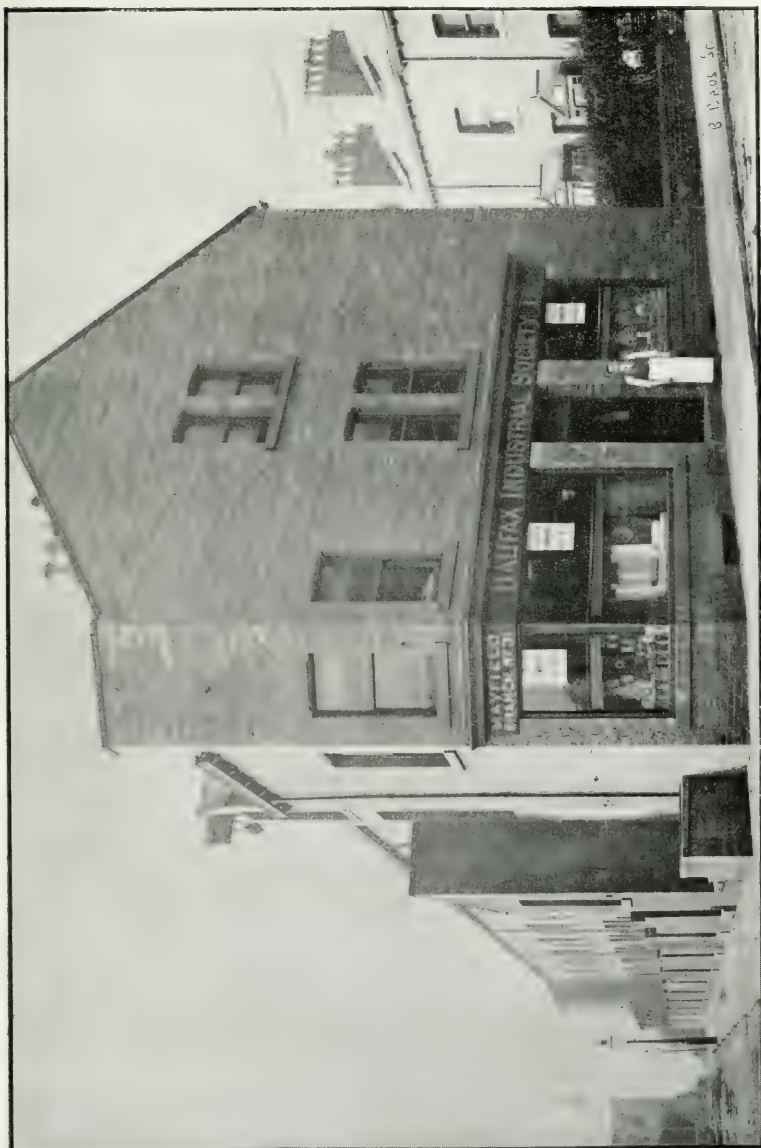
which have done them such good service. Their report and balance sheet were taken as read, and passed, the routine business was done, and the members separated more or less contented.

The new rules of the Society were adopted at a special meeting in August, and the special committee thanked for them. At the monthly meeting in November it was decided "That the desirability of re-opening the building department should be deferred for the present," and at the December meeting it was decided "That in future all members delegated to meetings of other societies in which we are interested, shall write out reports, the same to be read out at the monthly meeting following," which must have offered a rather alarming prospect to the delegates. And with the thanks of the meeting to the chairman the year ended.

1878 might have been entered upon by the Board with the reflection that when things get to their worst they are sure to mend. But the difficulty is, to discover when things *have* got to their worst. The worst, so far as the Society was concerned, was not reached in this year, as though the members fell off more than 200, the sales by nearly £30,000, and the profits by over £3,700, things were to get still worse before they began to mend. And yet the directors met the annual meeting with a cheery report, and a bonus of 2/- in the pound. They also announced that the "Society had commenced to deal in patent medicines, and with pleasing results to the members"—who it is to be hoped did not take more than was good for them, in their desire to increase the profits. They also announced the passing and registration of the new rules, and hoped that "as the voting for officers of the Society will, in future, take place at both the central and branch stores, your directors trust that having afforded you these increased facilities for exercising your rights, you will show your appreciation of them by recording your votes."

It cannot be said that the members, either before or after this intimation, valued their votes very highly, as, out of six or seven thousand members, seldom more than two or three hundred votes were recorded for the highest candidates for office.

Going through the minutes for this period, one thing is clearly apparent, and that is what may be called a tightness in the money market. When it is remembered that some £20,000 of nominal capital was withdrawn in the year under consideration, representing an actual withdrawal of £15,000 which had somehow to be provided, it will be evident that the Board must



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often have been hard put to it to provide the money needed. This difficulty is quite obvious all through the minutes of the year. For instance, in May, it was resolved "That no member shall be allowed to withdraw more than ten per cent. of his, or her, capital during the present year, or in any single year after, until further notice." Here is another, in July, showing the same tightness:—"That Messrs. Jackson, Hutchins and Collins wait upon the directors of the Halifax Flour Society, to point out to them the loss this Society has sustained from their report showing no profit." And another, recording an act of magnanimity that ought to be generally known, which says "That we accept the munificent offer of Mr. Leonord Storey to give up £100 per annum of his salary, and that the president convey to him the thanks of the directors for the manner in which he has acted in the present position of the Society's business." The directors also passed a resolution which sufficiently displays their anxiety, if it has no other value. It was as follows:—"The directors, having considered the decreasing sales and increasing expenses, are unanimously of opinion that it can be ascribed to the cause, 1st—the long-continued depression in trade, 2nd—the large amount of unproductive capital possessed by the Society, and the low price of goods generally." There is another one, in December, resolving "That Messrs. Hutchins, Oates and Dyson be appointed a committee to negotiate with the Corporation for the sale of the Cow Green property;" which negotiations were not finished until 1881, and will be then referred to.

At the half-yearly meeting, in July, the directors commence their report by saying "The time has now arrived when it is the duty of your directors to lay before you a statement of the Society's transactions for the past half-year. They feel great pleasure at the amount of loyalty that has been evinced by the members, through probably one of the severest depressions of trade that it has been the misfortune of any Society to pass through." They also had to state that the sales had fallen off by nearly £9,000, when compared with the corresponding half-year of 1877; that only £531 had been added to the share capital, while £17,591 had been withdrawn; that the profits, after allowing for interest and redemption account, amounted to £7,363, which would allow a bonus of 1/9 in the pound and leave a balance of £81, which they hoped, under the circumstances, would be considered satisfactory. They also mentioned that they had realised investments to the amount of £7,564; and concluded by urging the members to stand loyally by the Society in the confident hope that better days would dawn,

which, it must be admitted, was a fairly hopeful view under all the circumstances.

There is little more to say of this year, of importance. The Board decided, in August, that the seal of the Society should be put to the conveyance of the Bolton Brow property to the Sowerby Bridge Industrial Society. This branch, which was opened in 1872 at a cost to the Society of £965, was sold, as above recorded, for £1,000, and the business transferred to Salterhebble. And then, on December 2nd, came a resolution "That the call of £1 per share, made by the liquidators of the Industrial bank on March 1st, 1877, be paid," with this curious addendum: - "We have delayed paying this call until this time, but having now received notice that it must be paid within a week, that is the reason for this resolution being now put upon the books." The general monthly meetings were almost entirely taken up in appointing delegates, representatives, and directors, to the many concerns with which the Society was connected; and the last resolution passed by the Board, on the 30th of December, was "That we reduce the price of our clogs, &c., to the same as the master cloggers in the town;" and with that they turned the last page of an anxious and arduous year, probably suspecting that they still had others of equal anxiety before them.

1879, and the directors met the annual meeting cheerfully, although the sales had fallen off £28,000 in one year, and £61,000 since the end of 1875! The directors, in their report, attributed this fall to "the great reduction of the various commodities sold by the Society." In making this statement, they pointed out "that while the decrease in the sales has been nearly sixteen per cent., the decrease of the price of goods sold by the Society has been about fourteen per cent; this clearly shows, that so far as quantities are concerned, the members still remain loyal and faithful to the Society." The nett profit is given as £7,668 after payment of all calls, which allowed a dividend of 2/- in the pound; and the directors regret that they are unable, during 1879, to increase the withdrawable value of the shares, which then stood at 15/- per £1 share.

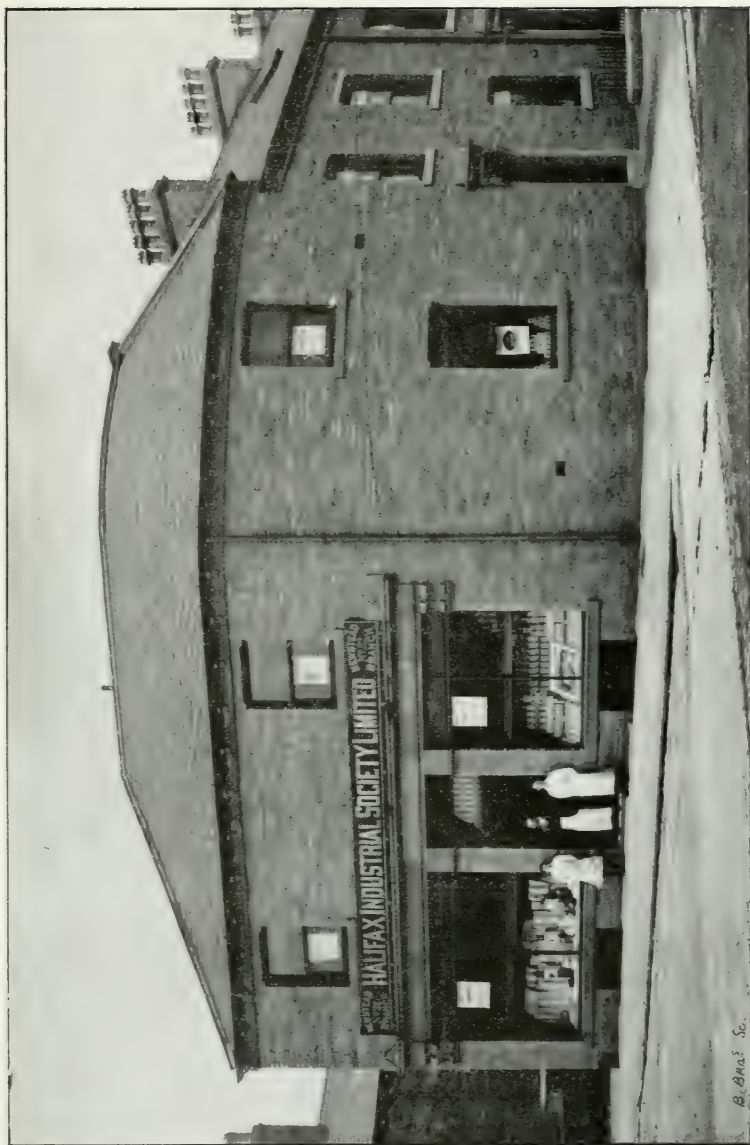
In looking through the list of investments given in this balance sheet, we find that almost all the speculative stocks have been disposed of, but that the Society had still large sums in two Societies which were in a precarious condition. These were the Carlton Ironworks, in which the Society had £16,500; and the Tyneside Engine Works, £13,700. That is to say over £30,000, which was, to put it mildly, very insecurely invested.

With these exceptions, the investments, given in the balance sheet as about £56,000, were all sound and reliable—which perhaps justified the directors in considering their review of the situation was a gratifying and hopeful one; a conclusion with which the general meeting appears to have agreed, for they made a grant of a penny per member to the funds of the Co-operative Congress Board, and decided that the balance owing by the educational committee should be paid by the Society.

The first striking feature of the directors' meetings for this year is the apparent decrease in activity, compared with previous years, for while ten, twelve, and fourteen resolutions were frequently discussed and dealt with as the average evening's work, we find, during this year, that beyond confirming the minutes of the previous meeting, seldom more than one, two, or three other resolutions were passed, and on several occasions not even one. Perhaps there was less to do, or perhaps only less recorded; but at any rate the fact is there, and as such is mentioned without explanation or further comment. The first important resolution passed by the Board was on February 6th, "That Messrs. Jackson, Hutchins and Storey affix the seal of this Society to a deed made between John W. Ward and Christopher Ward, and the Halifax Industrial Society, being a lease of High Sunderland Farm, for 14 years, to the Society, at a rental of £175 per annum." The next, owing to a decision of the members at the March monthly meeting, "That the educational department be made self-supporting;" and the Board decided that, in future, that department should be charged a rent of £5 per annum, to include gas.

The Board also passed a resolution, in June, which was no doubt intended as a hint to the members. As it throws a little light on the then situation it shall be given here, although it was rescinded before the members had an opportunity of considering it. This resolution declared "That in the opinion of this Board it is highly detrimental that the discussions that take place, in reference to the business of the Society, should be transmitted to other places, and used to the detriment of the Society as a whole." There is no doubt that at this time the Board were hard put to it to make both ends meet—as the homely phrase has it, and were sufficiently hampered by the difficulties they were surrounded by, without such difficulties being increased by the spread of alarming reports and mere sensational gossip, which, no doubt, accounts for the passing of the above resolution.

At the half-yearly meeting, in July, the directors had to declare a further decrease in the sales, of £16,158, which they



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again suggest was owing more to the fall in prices than the decrease of trade. They also declare the profits, after all calls, amounted to £7,477, allowing a dividend of 2/- in the pound. In this report, the committee of the educational department also mention that "during the time in which it has been conducted on the self-supporting principle, the results have been very satisfactory,"—though their accounts certainly showed a balance of £42 on the wrong side. They further mention that the library is open daily, and that the subscription, for members, is 1/- per quarter. At the half-yearly meeting the balance sheet was passed unanimously, and the debt of the education department was ordered to be paid.

And then, at a meeting of the Board, in September, it was decided to commence the building of another branch, which was to be erected at Moor End, for which a committee consisting of Messrs. Jackson, Dyson, Oates, Sharp and Nichol was appointed. In October, also, the Board decided to purchase some land in Queen's Road for £125, and also 286 yards at Moor End for 2·6 a yard; and at once advertised for tenders for the building of a house and shop at the latter place. And, in addition to that, beyond a dispute with the Guardians of the Halifax Union about the flour supplied to them by the Society, little of interest remains to mention. The dispute above alluded to was settled by arbitration, Mr. Nathan Whitley acting as arbitrator, and being thanked by the directors for his services in that capacity. And there the year—which proved to be the lowest ebb of the Society's depression—may come to an end. Its sales and its profits had been the lowest for nine years; its membership having fallen from 7,900 in 1873, to 7,730, 7,216, 7,020, 6,930, and 6,720 in the five following years, and to 6,639 in 1879 a fall of over 1,200 members in six years! From that moment, however, the tide turned, and the membership, and with it the business, began to rise again, and have continued to do so ever since, and the friends of co-operation were amply justified of their confidence.

In 1880, we come to the last year of the third period; the year in which, as mentioned above, the affairs of the Society first showed signs of a return to healthiness; and the first business, of any importance, considered by the Board, was whether more capital should be put into the Tyneside Engine Works, and it was wisely decided that a special general meeting should be called to consider the matter. This meeting was held in the Mechanics' Hall, on the 21st of February, and decided "That this meeting do not entertain the proposition to increase its liability, in respect to shares, in any company, until the time

that our own Society is able to pay twenty shillings in the pound." It appears, a couple of the Tyneside directors, Messrs. Haigh and Wood, attended this meeting to plead for more capital, and were thanked for their attendance, but were otherwise no better off for their trouble.

This Tyneside embarrassment runs all through the meetings of the year, and remained unsatisfactory at the end of it. An attempt was made to get its annual meeting held at Halifax, but did not succeed, York being chosen. Then a discussion arose as to the payment of further calls on its share capital, which was also referred to a special general meeting, held in December, when it was decided "That the question of sending any further capital to the Tyne Engine Works be deferred to the next annual meeting." And another resolution was passed "That this Society pledges itself to support the resolution of the Consett Society to place the Tyneside Works in the market for sale, and that our representative support that resolution." And that was as far as the subject was carried by the end of the year.

Another, indeed the only other, important subject to be found in the records of the year, were the negotiations with the Halifax Corporation for the sale to them of the Society's property in Cow Green.

In June, the Board decided "That Mr. Tom Hughes be communicated with to see if he will be willing to become arbitrator for the Society, should one be required *re* the Cow Green estate." This was, of course, Tom Hughes the barrister and author of "Tom Brown's School Days," and a friend to co-operators. He does not appear to have consented, however; as other gentlemen were afterwards written to.

Then, in September, it was resolved "That Messrs. Jackson, Oates and Storey represent the Society in the arbitration case *re* the Cow Green estate;" and in October, "That the Cow Green property be photographed before the estate is disposed of;" and that matter also remained uncompleted at the end of the year. And then came consideration of the commencing of a penny bank in connection with the Society, and it was decided at a monthly meeting, in November, "That a penny bank be established, and that the rules, as now read for a bank, be adopted." And with a small dispute with the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which lasted from October to the end of the year, the business of the Board came to an end. This dispute was about butter; and a resolution was passed on October 18th, "That we make a claim for compensation upon the Co-operative Wholesale Society for the inferior butter supplied, of late, to us, the amount

of claim to be £50." Much correspondence ensued on this claim; but, on December 16th, it was resolved "That we accept the offer of the Co-operative Wholesale Society to compromise the butter question for the sum of £25;" and so the last difficulty of the year was amicably settled; and, with a resolution on December 30th "That Mr. Storey allow the usual christmas boxes," the third and most stormy period of the Society's history came to a peaceful end. Strange to say, the period ended as it began; and with the Society almost in the same position so far as membership, business, and profits were concerned; but with a debt of some fifty to seventy thousand pounds, lost in the speculative period, to wipe out. Comparing the returns for 1870 and 1880, we find the membership of 6,614 in 1870 rose to 7,900 in 1873, and had returned to 6,735 at the end of 1880, being just 121 more than at the end of 1870. The capital, which rose from £107,000 to £237,000 in 1874, had sunk again to £156,000 at the end of the ten years; while the sales also rose from £181,597, at the beginning of the decade, to £273,186, and fell again to £204,520 at the end; and the profits rose from £14,380 to £28,857, and fell again to £16,259.

And thus happily ended what—speaking with the full knowledge of the circumstances that subsequent events have afforded—can only be called, the reckless and unjustifiable rush of the Society into speculation; which may, or may not, be a legitimate business, but is certainly quite outside the ethics of co-operation. The Society has reason to be proud of the courage and loyalty of its members, even though it arose, in some cases, more from selfishness than any higher reasons; for it is evident now that had even half the members insisted on withdrawing their capital, at the rate of fifteen shillings in the pound, their demands could only have resulted in the total extinction of the Society. But the troubles were firmly met; the sacrifices patiently borne; and the Society and its directors learned a lesson which should make a similar disaster impossible in their future history.



A. RATCLIFFE SECRETARY



A. L. BRIERLEY



E. A. CROZIER CHAIRMAN



W. H. BROADBENT



J. INSTON

BLATCHFORD BROS. HALIFAX

INSTRUCTION AND RECREATION COMMITTEE.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FOURTH PERIOD.

Year.	Members.	Capital.	Sales.	Profits.	Bonus.	
£		£	£	£	1st half	2nd half.
1881 ..	6,762 ..	149,617 ..	193,353 ..	15,815 ..	2 0	2 0
1882 ..	6,940 ..	143,802 ..	198,946 ..	17,344 ..	2 2	2 2
1883 ..	7,136 ..	137,395 ..	206,058 ..	18,765 ..	2 2	2 2
1884 ..	7,556 ..	134,198 ..	224,780 ..	22,523 ..	2 2	2 3
1885 ..	7,890 ..	130,427 ..	226,175 ..	24,241 ..	2 3	2 3

[188] commences the fourth period of this history, and shows mainly the slow—indeed the very slow—return of the Society to complete solvency. This recovery, it will be found, took much longer than the members expected, and than the directors hoped; and was not completed until the first year of the last period, or the year 1891, when the shares were at last declared to be once more worth twenty shillings in the pound, as will be shown at the proper time. Fifteen years were therefore required for a recovery that the sanguine expected would have been accomplished in from a third to a half of that time. It must also be mentioned that during the earlier years of this period, the directors were often severely hampered for ready money to carry on the business, and had to observe the keenest economy in all their transactions on that account. Indeed it is stated by members who were on the Board at the time, that the sale to the Corporation of the Cow Green property, in the May of this year, was a blessing for which they were duly thankful, as it came at a convenient time to relieve them of considerable anxiety.

Turning to the directors' report to the annual meeting on January 22nd, we find them expressing "great pleasure in laying before you a statement of the Society's business for the half-year, and are happy to say that although the trade of the district has not been so favourable as during the previous half-year, they can still record a slight increase over the corresponding period." They also mention that the investment account has been reduced to £52,498, and the redemption account to £38,350, being together a decrease for the year of £2,960. Also that the profits will allow a bonus of 2 - in the pound, and leave a balance of £140; and further "desire to state that no alteration can be made during 1881 of the withdrawable value of shares." The building committee also report "that they have commenced

building a number of houses on the Savile Park estate, and persons intending to purchase are requested to communicate with the committee."

The report and balance sheet were adopted, and the call from the Tyneside engine works was again deferred for a month; the usual grants to directors and auditors were passed; also a grant of one penny per member to the Central Co-operative Board; routine business was got through; and then, at a special meeting, it was decided that "the last clause of rule 9 which reads that the Society shall not receive money on deposit, shall be struck out."

It was further resolved "That the Society may receive deposits of money on loan, either from members or non-members, on which interest at the rate of £3 15s. 0d. per cent. per annum shall be paid. That not more than 5 - shall be taken in any one payment, nor more than £20 from any one depositor. And that no claim of withdrawal of capital shall be paid while any claim due to a depositor is unsatisfied." This was, at any rate, one means of providing the ready money the Society was in need of, and was the commencement of the Society's savings bank, which is still existing.

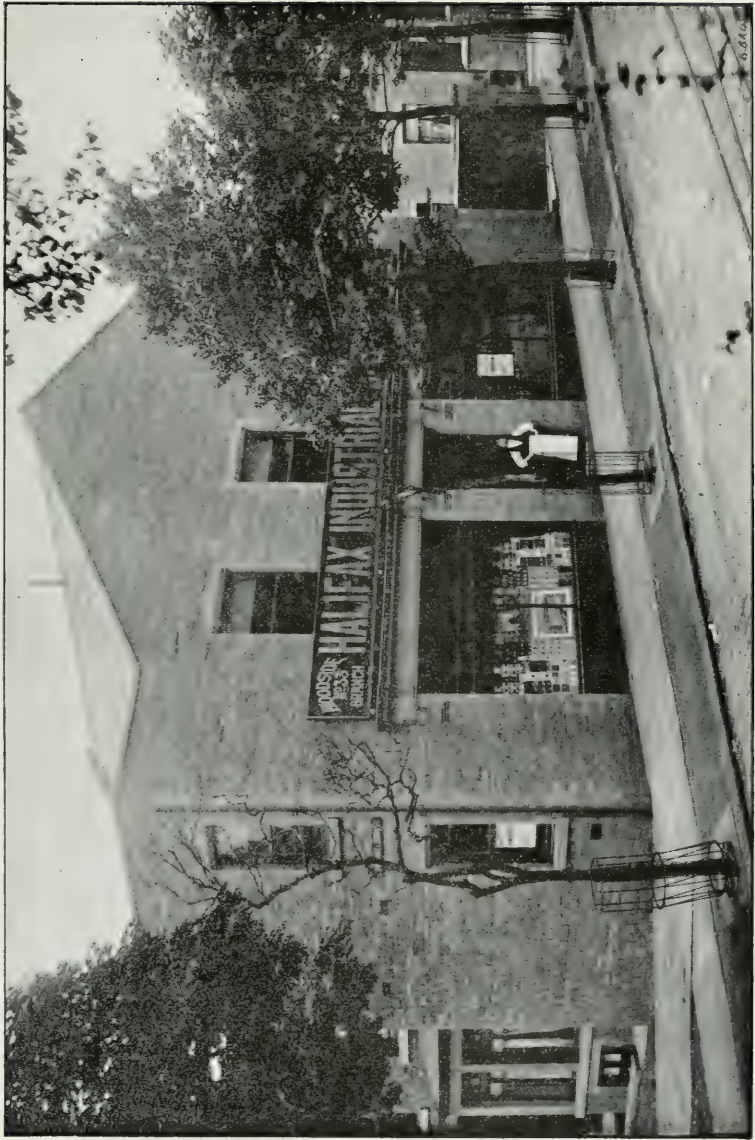
At the monthly meeting in February the call from the Tyne again fell upon callous ears, and was again deferred for another month. But at the monthly meeting in March it was at last resolved that this call be paid, which the members must have considered a good night's work, as it was actually all they did. At the monthly meeting in April the members confirmed the minutes of the previous meeting, and that was all. At a special general meeting held on May 21st, it was "Resolved that the building committee have the power to finish the block of houses on Savile Park estate." It was next resolved "that this meeting proceed to the next business," which it may be assumed was going home, as that, at any rate, was what they did. At the May meeting they did nothing at all; at the June meeting they only appointed delegates to attend various half-yearly meetings of other societies, and then came the half-yearly general meeting when the balance sheet was taken as read and adopted, it was decided to pay a bonus of 2/- in the pound, the usual grants were passed, the thanks of the meeting were given to the president for his services in the chair, and that meeting also ended.

At the August monthly meeting a resolution was passed "That a detailed statement of the accounts of individuals who are purchasing houses from the Society shall be supplied to the building committee," and that "the memorial with reference to

the conduct of one of the building committee be not entertained." Then Mr. T. Illingworth was elected secretary in the place of Mr. Dixon Lumb, who retired with the sincere thanks of the meeting for his four and a half years' services, and the meeting concluded. At the September monthly meeting it was decided "that the consideration of the disposal of the Society's library be put on the agenda for the next meeting;" after which a delegate was appointed to attend the meeting of the Tyne engine works in October. At the October monthly meeting it was resolved "that the offer made to the Corporation of the Society's library be absolutely withdrawn, and that it be not disposed of to anyone at the present time." At the November meeting the building committee were recommended to reconsider a resolution passed by them respecting the premium charged by them on the Bell Hall houses. And at the December meeting nominations were taken for the annual election of officers and delegates appointed for various meetings of other Societies, and that concluded the business of these monthly meetings for the year, and may be taken as an average specimen of the business done at these meetings in any given year.

Returning for a moment to the meetings of the Board, we find the negotiations with the Corporation for the sale of the Society's property in Cow Green, came to a satisfactory conclusion in May. Being unable to come to any agreement, the affair was settled by arbitration, the umpire being Joseph Smith, Esq., of Bradford, who decided that—to give the words of the deed—"I AWARD AND DETERMINE that the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Halifax, shall pay to the said Society, for the purchase money and compensation in respect of the compulsory purchase by them of the freehold estate," &c., &c., &c., for an interminable number more words, "the sum of two thousand four hundred and twenty-nine pounds. AND I DO FURTHER AWARD AND DETERMINE that the reasonable costs, charges and expenses," &c., &c., as before, "shall be borne by the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses." And as the property, which had been in the possession of the Society since 1861, cost them £767, the Board had reason to be grateful to Mr. Smith for his services. And with that windfall the year's history may conclude.

1882 opened with a cheerful report, from the directors, showing an increase of sales of £29 over the corresponding half-year of 1881; that the redemption account for the extinction of the debt had been reduced by £1,034; that the profits amounted to £8,280, allowing a bonus of 2/2 in the pound; and they were



further "glad to state that of the thirty houses built on the Savile Park estate, twenty are already tenantable and the other ten will be so in a few days."

The first business of importance done by the monthly meeting was to rescind the resolution relating to not selling the library, and "that the president and vice-president wait upon the free library committee to treat for the sale of the Society's library." The result of this consultation was the sale of the library to the Halifax free library committee, for the sum of £250. And thus ended, for the time, the educational branch of the Society's work, which ending was one of the evil results of the ill starred speculations. Probably another result of those speculations was the transfer, to other Societies, of the shares held in the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Whether that was so or not, the shares held by the Society were so disposed of, and realised the useful sum of £3,270. And the same day, the Board thanked Mr. Shillito for his report of the winding-up of the Tyneside engine works, by which the Society seem to have realised £523, which was but a poor return for the £13,700 the Society had invested.

There is a resolution for August 17th, which suggests some slowness in meeting their obligations, on the the part of the free library committee, for they are informed by the Board that if £250 owing to them be not paid before the end of the month, interest, at the rate of 5 per cent., will be charged; which, it is to be hoped, brought that dilatory committee to a proper sense of their duty. There is another melancholy resolution in the books, for September 7th, which reads: "That the seal of the Society be affixed to the amount of £534 4s. 2d., being the first dividend of a shilling in the pound received from the liquidators of the Ousburn engine works: the amount of our claim being £10,604 3s. 4d." This act must have given but little satisfaction to the Board, for alas! this first dividend turned out to be almost the last; and with this final reference, it, and its successor—the Tyneside, may disappear altogether. There was then only one really bad investment remaining on the Society's books, or at any rate, only one of any large amount, and that was the Carlton Iron Company, in which the Society had some £15,000 invested, and out of which, as it will be ultimately seen, they got very little. But perhaps the directors were glad to know the worst, for they stuck cheerfully to their work, attending to all the thousand-and-one details of the Society's business, and ended their year's work with the cheerful satisfaction born of steadily increasing business and steadily increasing confidence in the safety of the Society.

In January, 1883, it was "the duty of your directors to lay before you a statement of the Society's business during the past half-year," and, in doing so, they were glad to say] there had been a slight increase in the turnover, of £1,688; also that £826 had been added to share capital, and £1,379 withdrawn; that they were in a position to pay a bonus of 2 2 in the pound, but not yet able to increase the withdrawable value above fifteen shillings. They also reported that "the whole of the two blocks of houses at Savile Park, having been sold, your directors now propose to develop the estate at Lee Mount, near Shroggs Park;" that the plans were ready, and that several members had already made application for houses. The increasing bank balance, which had risen from some £7,000 in 1881 to £13,285 in this year, shows that the financial situation was a little easier; and that while the capital was decreasing, the trade of the Society was steadily rising, the profits for the whole year showing an increase of over £1,400.

In turning to the minutes of the directors' meetings, we find the old Ousburn cropping up in a resolution "That the secretary write the liquidators of the Industrial Bank, asking them to assist us in compelling the Ousburn liquidators to finally wind-up that estate"—a request that failed of the desired effect, as the desired wind-up has not to this day been arrived at. Then we find the Board deciding to carry out the orders of a monthly meeting, and build a new branch at Lee Mount. Next they decided that the Board should visit each of the branches, and afterwards resolved "That after considering the reports of the visits of members of the Board to our branches, we are of opinion, generally, that the condition of the branches was considered satisfactory." Whether the Board had any previous reason for doubt, or had acted on complaints from members, does not appear. That all was not quite satisfactory may be inferred from the numerous changes amongst the branch store-keepers about this time, and from complaints by them of insufficient pay, as will appear later.

The directors next seem to have got tired of the constant appearance on their balance sheets of "Honduras, £276," and decided "that we instruct our agents to dispose of the Honduras stock when they touch £14," which again was a hope long unrealised, as those bugbears remained on the balance sheets until 1887. Then the Board decided, in October, "That we nominate Mr. John Shillito as a candidate for the office of director of the Wholesale Society, and that the president, vice-president, and secretary, sign the nomination paper on our behalf." It appears that the Board were pressed, for some reason, by other societies,

to withdraw their candidate, but decided "to use all legitimate means to promote his election," and prepared a circular to be sent to other societies who were members of the Wholesale, advocating Mr. Shillito's claims. They even sent deputations to those societies for that purpose, and ultimately succeeded in their energetic campaign, Mr. Shillito being elected on the Board of the Wholesale Society, of which he has ever since been a director, and is now the president.

They next complied with a request from the Wholesale Society to supply particulars of their annual turnover, and the amounts spent in education and for charitable purposes, for the Wholesale Society's Annual for the forthcoming year. This request came at an awkward time, for the educational committee had recently been extinguished, and the Society was too poor, at the time, to spend much on charity. Looking through the Wholesale Annual, for 1884, it is found that the Halifax Society cuts a very poor figure in these two respects—as another result of the bygone mania for speculation. And while societies like Oldham devoted £1,121 to education, Rochdale £814, Leeds £300, and even small societies like Bingley, Cleckheaton, and Keighley spent over £100 each, Halifax spent nothing. In bequests to charitable institutions, they do not fare much better, for while they are merely down for £10—to the Halifax Infirmary, other similar societies appear for from three to fourteen times that amount. This reproach has been at least partially wiped out since 1883, for the half-yearly balance-sheet for 1900 shows that about £100 is allotted to the instruction and recreation of the members, and £82 to charities, including £50 to the South African War Relief Fund—which even yet can hardly be called extravagant liberality in either direction.

To conclude the year, we find the Board decreeing "that a letter of condolence be sent to Mrs. Coton and family, sympathising with them in their bereavement, and expressive of the high regard in which the long services of the deceased, Mr. Dan Coton, are held by the Board;" and also deciding that the Hopwood Lane store close on the day of the funeral, and that "the Society's servants be allowed to attend it, if they desire, and can make the necessary arrangements to do so." And so closed the life of one of the oldest and staunchest adherents of co-operation in its days of trial, after twenty-three years of hard work in its interests. The death of Mr. Dan Coton cut one of the last links of the Society with its primitive beginning, and may fitly end this brief account of an uneventful year, a year that also practically closed the ten years' presidency of Mr. W. H. Jackson,



for he was re-placed by Mr. James Haigh, at the annual meeting, in January, 1884, and received the thanks of the Society for his services.

1884 again marked a slight improvement in the condition of the Society, and the directors had "great pleasure in stating that notwithstanding the steady reduction of prices of many of the commodities dealt in by the Society, there is a very substantial increase in the turnover. The sales for the half-year amount to £106,661, showing an increase over the corresponding half-year of £7,560." They further announce that the investment account—that is, the bad debts of the Society—had been reduced by £3,348, during the past year; but that they have to state "that no alteration can be made in the withdrawable value of the shares during 1884." They further rejoice that "the whole of the first block of houses at Lee Mount have been disposed of, and applications have already been made for houses in the second and third blocks, which will be at once proceeded with," and that a branch store at Lee Mount will be opened for business early in February; and finally, that the profits will allow a bonus of 2/2 in the pound.

Some signs of discontent amongst the branch store-keepers has already been alluded to, and appears to have received consideration in the early part of this year, the Board deciding, on January 10th, "That a sub-committee be formed to go through the correspondence respecting wages paid by other societies to branch store-keepers, with the object of bringing the subject, in a condensed form, before the Board." This committee was appointed, and considered the subject; and another resolution was passed, the following week, thanking the Mayor—Alderman Ramsden—for kindly undertaking to arbitrate between the Society and its branch store-keepers. The next week, it was further resolved "That in response to the requisition from our branch store-keepers for an advance in their wages, the scale of wages to be paid them from the first week in February, and until further notice, be as follows: Those taking per week £50, or under, £1 1s. Od. per week, with house and rates free as at present; from £50 to £80, eight-pence for every £5 instead of sixpence as heretofore: all taking above £80, threepence for every £1, or one penny more for each £5 than before." This is not very easy to understand, though it is clear that a store-keeper taking £80 per week would receive £1 5s. Od. in addition to house, rent, and rates, while those taking more than £80 per week would receive a further increase, the amount of which, perhaps, the reader may be able to discover.

We next come to a proposal from Messrs. Shillito and Thorp that the directors "shall allow a voluntary subscription to be opened at the Central and branch stores, towards a testimonial to the ex-president, Mr. W. H. Jackson; and to allow Mr. Storey to be treasurer of the same." This request was granted, and led to the presentation to Mr. and Mrs. Jackson of gold watches and chains, with other valuables, at a tea party held at the Dean Clough Institute, where many complimentary references to Mr. Jackson's services were made and heartily endorsed by the company present.

In September, it was suggested at the monthly meeting "That the directors be requested to consider the propriety of holding a series of meetings, in the town and district, for the purpose of propagating the principles of co-operation." In answer to this, the Board decided, in December, to leave the suggested tea meetings to the consideration of the next Board of directors; and instructed the secretary to invite Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., to address a large meeting "some Saturday during 1885," which invitation was at least wide enough to prevent Mr. Burt pleading a previous engagement. And finally, at the last meeting of the year, it was resolved "That our Shares in the Co-operative Wholesale be increased to the extent the number of members entitle us to, and in conformity with the rule of the Wholesale;" and having come to that eminently sensible conclusion, the directors decided to adjourn until the first Monday in 1885.

1885 commenced like its two predecessors, with a complimentary report from the directors, pointing out that despite the fall in price of all goods sold by them, there was a very satisfactory increase in the returns; and that while there had been an increase of forty-five per cent. in the tonnage of the goods disposed of, the increase in cash received was only nine per cent. Nevertheless, the sales had increased £18,722 over the last year; that the bad debts had been further reduced by £3,401 during the year; and that "There is an available balance of £11,251, which will allow of a bonus of 2'3 in the pound;" so that the bonus, which, it was understood, was not to exceed 2 - until the shares were again worth 20 - in the pound, had already crept up threepence, by a humble, and perhaps unnoticed, penny at a time. Of course the Society were perfectly justified in raising the bonus, rather than reducing the losses, if they choose, for as the purchasers had actually to pay the hundred thousand or so lost in speculation, they can hardly be blamed for not hurrying over such payment. And, therefore, the directors had once again to declare that "There will be no alteration in the withdrawable

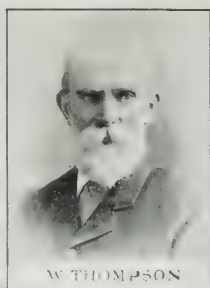
value of the shares during 1884,"—and did so without a single word of apology; and as the membership, the sales, and the profits of the Society were all rising, they were probably right in so doing.

Turning to the directors' minutes for this year, we come to one of the strangest resolutions yet noticed, for it reads "That the treasurer be authorised to acknowledge, through the local papers, the sum of £2, conscience money, received from an anonymous person!" What crime had this conscience stricken co-operator committed against the well-being of the Society? Was it robbery, fraud, or forgery; or merely lying, slandering, or evil speaking? Whether it was one or the other; was a light or heavy offence; and whether the restitution was a quick or a tardy one, a whole or only a partial one; there is no conceivable means of discovering, and the reader must therefore be content to remain in doubt—content with the fact that conscience had pricked some evil doer to the value of £2. Another curious resolution in April, is an unusual one, deciding to "Invite tenders from several solicitors for executing conveyance deeds and mortgages required in the transfer of the houses erected by this Society." Then the minutes record once more that "The branch stores having been visited by the members of the Board, they hereby record them as fairly satisfactory;" which can hardly be called extravagant praise, though, perhaps, as warm as was warranted in a world where few things are more than fairly satisfactory, and many not even that.

Indeed that phrase could hardly have been applied to *all* departments of the Society at that time, as the relations of some of the directors with the Board seem to have been, for some reason, rather less than fairly satisfactory—as the following resolution will show, "That the Board hereby records its disapprobation of the conduct of one of its members, for so frequently forestalling his committee by communicating prematurely the resolutions passed at the sittings of the Board, and thus interfering with the efficient and collective action of the Board and its committee, and regards such conduct as severely censureable, and also detrimental to the truest interests of the Society, and derogatory to the dignity of the Board." This powerfully worded resolution, passed on May 11th, was not, by any means, the only sign of friction, for in July comes one, instructing the secretary to write to another member, drawing his attention to "the statement he made at the branch committee tea meeting, respecting the distribution of goods from the Central, and require the immediate withdrawal of this statement in writing, as in the opinion of the



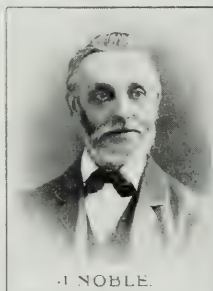
F. DARRELL



W. THOMPSON



J. THORPE



J. NOBLE



T. WILSON



A. W. KERSHAW

MEMBERS' REPRESENTATIVES ON JUBILEE COMMITTEE.

Board the statement was inaccurate and detrimental to the interests of the Society."

The first was followed by the resignation of the director against whom these unspecified charges were made; and that was followed, at the monthly meeting in September, by a resolution that the charges against Mr. — be not further entertained. And then, before the end of November, a letter of explanation from the other member to whose conduct exception was taken, was accepted as satisfactory, and there the misunderstanding ended, with a couple of vacancies on the Board. And so ended these temporary ruptures of the harmony, which were apparently of little real importance.

There were other changes also, for on the resignation of Mr. Ingham, who had been for some time manager of the Central Stores, his place was taken by the secretary, Mr. Thomas Illingworth, who has held it ever since, and was replaced in the secretarial duties by Mr. A. B. Carter, who still fulfills them.

What more should be related of this year? That the Central Stores were insured for the amount of £30,000 with insurance offices, and for £9,000 by the Society, at the same rate of premium. That one of the departmental managers was allowed to go to London—by excursion—to make extensive purchases of leather, with as little expense to the Society as possible. "That Mr. Culpan, one of our tenants at High Sunderland, be written to, drawing his attention to the mischief caused by his dog amongst our poultry." And finally that, in the opinion of the Board, it was not advisable, at that time, "to increase the liabilities of the Society by purchasing additional building land at Lee Mount, seeing that the property already built is in excess of the demand."

And there is nothing more to record, except the steady progress of the business, and the diligent attention of the directors and officials to their sometimes monotonous duties.

CHAPTER X.

FOURTH PERIOD CONTINUED.

Year.	Members.	Capital. £	Sales. £	Profits. £	Dividend.	
					1st half	2nd half.
1886 ..	8,057 ..	126,384 ..	224,570 ..	24,981 ..	2/4	2/4
1887 ..	8,177 ..	122,289 ..	224,079 ..	23,933 ..	2/4	2/4
1888 ..	8,224 ..	116,948 ..	223,219 ..	23,973 ..	2/4	2/4
1889 ..	8,305 ..	114,152 ..	231,256 ..	25,645 ..	2/5	2/5
1890 ..	8,400 ..	113,154 ..	241,262 ..	26,981 ..	2/6	2/6

AS the reader will be aware, it is the habit of historians to skim lightly and briefly over the everyday doings and quiet lives of the millions of nobodies, who form the vast majority of those who live the real life of any period or any nation, and to devote themselves to the illustrious men and women, and the picturesque events, that will alone captivate and hold the attention of their readers. They pass over a year of quiet industry and profitable peace, in a few sentences : and spend many pages in chronicling the folly or extravagance of a monarch, or the bloody and devastating victory of a famous general, as though such events were alone worth the serious attention of the world. And their books are read and praised, although kings and conquerors play a very small, and often an entirely valueless part, in the rise, progress, and decay of people or of empires.

But alas ! the writer of this history is in a different position. He may not skip lightly over five or ten years in a few sentences, but must strive to fill this uneventful period of slow recovery with something that will interest the reader ; must endeavour, like the children of Israel, to make bricks without straw, or at least, with straw that has already been used so often as to be no longer of value ; must read through the reports of the directors, although he is almost ashamed to quote them once more ; must wade through the minute books in the almost hopeless hope of finding something that will spur up the jaded reader, and throw some new light on the history of the Society. The task is not an easy one, and the indulgent members of the Society, who have followed this history so far, must try to forgive the writer of it, if he fails to make good bricks of straw that has been chopped too often.

Had there been a great fire during this period, to cast its lurid light on the times ; a disastrous flood, to surge through the cellars of the Central stores, and these pages ; an absconding cashier ; or even a boiler explosion, to lend interest to the narrative ; the above apologetic remarks might have been foregone.

But there was nothing exciting ; nothing but steady industry and constant attention to details ; nothing more than the already oft told story of the balance sheets, the routine business of the Board room, the unexciting discussions of the monthly meetings—where very little happened to amuse the few who went ; and that being the case, there is nothing for it than to cull such few scraps of interest as are discoverable, and trust the reader will not complain of their scarcity.

But one line shall be taken from the directors' report for the beginning of 1886, and that is the already oft repeated one, that they "have to state that there will be no increase in the withdrawable value of the shares during 1886." And then we pass on to glance at the signs of unrest amongst the branch store-keepers that are still perceptible. For instance, here is one in January, "That the secretary write the store-keeper of Southowram branch, respecting the length of time the customers have to wait before being served." There is another, on the first of February, instructing the secretary to "write the Queen's Road store-keeper, informing him that the Board requests that all checks must be changed by himself or his assistants, and that he have stated times, most convenient to himself, during the week, to have the checks changed." Then on February 11th, "That the store-keeper at Skircoat Green branch receive a week's notice to leave the Society's employment." Again, on March 4th, "That the resignation of the Hopwood Lane branch store-keeper be accepted ;" and on March 22nd, "that the resignation of the store-keeper at Northowram branch be accepted." This restlessness amongst the store-keepers was very prevalent about this time, and for no reason that the minute books enable us to discover.

Here too is a resolution that some might be inclined to regret, which was passed in May, "That our representatives, at the quarterly meeting of the co-operative newspaper society, be instructed to oppose the recommendation of the general board to grant the sum of £25 to Mr. J. G. Holyoake, as compensation for the discontinuance of his paper, the *Social Economist*, in favour of the *Co-operative News*." And another, in the same month, of a far pleasanter flavour, "That this Board desires to place on record their appreciation of the co-operative feeling, as shown by the action of the Board of directors and members of the Brighouse Industrial Society, who successfully opposed the opening of a branch of their society at Elland, which would have been detrimental to the spirit of co-operation." And here is one, that, though no doubt perfectly clear at the time to those who



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passed it, is somewhat vague to those who have not their advantage: this reads, "That we write to Messrs. Shaw and Hebblethwaite, stating that the Board, after carefully considering their request, cannot find a rule which will allow them to comply with it, as they give no reason why such a proposition should be put on the bill announcing the next monthly meeting." This request, it appears, was for a re-count of the votes for directors, in which the two gentlemen named above were unsuccessful, and after a re-count remained so.

It was decided, in October, that the Central stores should be fitted with the electric light at a cost of £240, for which 150 incandescent lamps of 20 candle power each, dynamos, fittings, &c., were to be supplied. This was done by Messrs. Blakey and Emmott; and the Central stores have thus been lit by electricity longer than almost any other business premises in the town. It was also resolved that a tea party and meeting should be held in December, which took place on Saturday, December 4th, when the Central stores were closed at 4 o'clock, and the branches an hour earlier, that the servants of the Society might attend the party. And to conclude the year, it was resolved "That after January 1st, 1887, the withdrawable value of shares of the Society be sixteen shillings in the pound instead of fifteen; an announcement that satisfactorily rounded off the history of 1886.

1887 was, in its main historical features, very like the other years of this period of convalescence, and, like all cases of recovery from an almost mortal ailment, is remarkable less for exciting incidents than cheerful monotony. The annual general meeting passed off quietly, and the directors congratulated the Society on its slowly improving position, and on the long deferred rise of the withdrawable value of shares from fifteen to sixteen shillings, and then set to work on the ordinary business of the Board.

Looking through their minutes, for subjects of general interest, we find that Mr. Parker was allowed to go to Manchester "with a view to settling the bacon question with the Co-operative Wholesale Society." What the bacon question was does not appear, from which it may be assumed that Mr. Parker succeeded in arriving at a settlement. Then it was decided "That the action taken in selling the Honduras shares be approved by this Board." What they were sold for is not stated; but it must have been a satisfaction to the directors that those shares had at last disappeared from the balance sheet. The Board also assented "to a recommendation of the Co-operative Wholesale Society to grant one hundred pounds, out of their reserve fund, towards the

alleviation of distress amongst the Northumberland miners ;” and passed a resolution in favour of abolishing Sunday postal labour in all parts of the United Kingdom—which labour has not so far been abolished. They also offered some land for street improvements, at the top of Savile Park, to the Corporation, at £1 a yard, but ultimately decided to accept the Corporation’s offer of five shillings—which seems a very liberal discount. This arrangement, it appears, included an understanding that the Corporation pulled down some old buildings which abutted on the property of the Society, and have not so far been removed ; Corporate promises not always proving reliable.

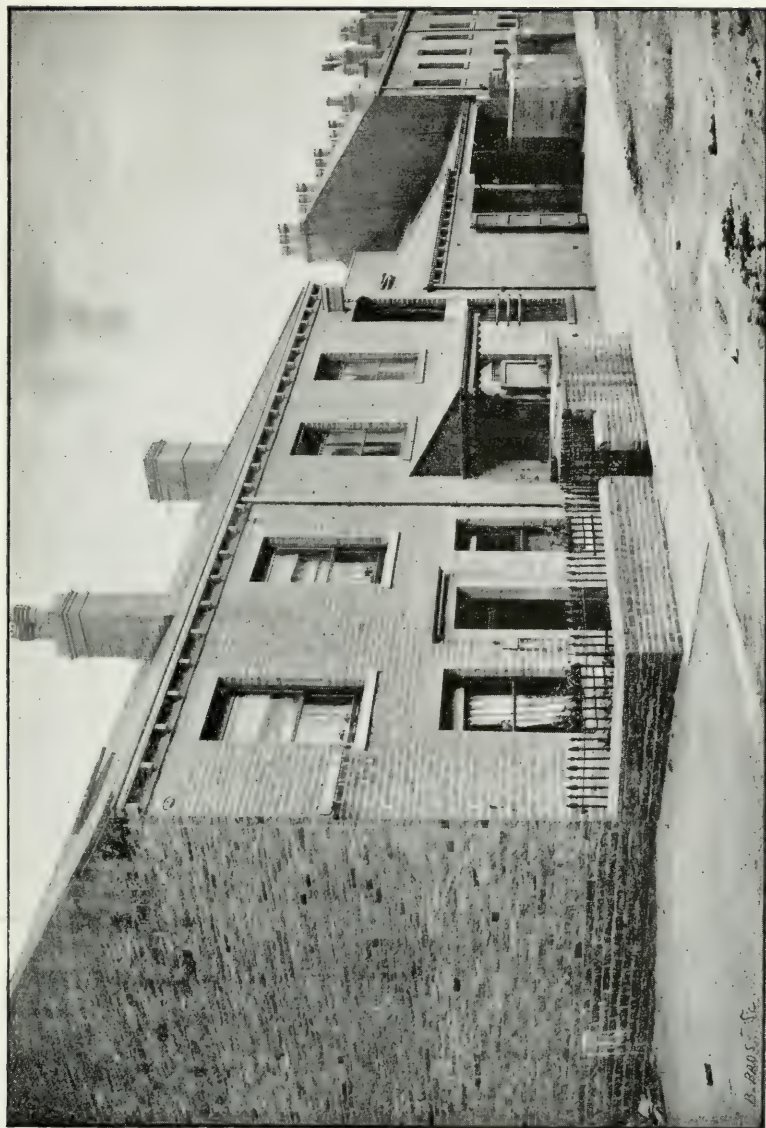
Then, in October, the secretary was ordered “To write to Mr. Foster, of Lee Mount, informing him that after carefully examining both his and our property, we are unable to find any defect whatever, and are of opinion that the rain comes down his own chimney and that we are not, in any way, liable for the leakage.” They likewise came to the conclusion, in December, that all the advertising plates of dealers in mustard, tea, starch, biscuits and other articles, fixed on their doors and about their premises, should be removed, and that in future no such advertisements should be put up without the permission of the Board. And finally, having decided on Christmas Eve “That the Board, on its rising, do adjourn to Tuesday, January 3rd,” they went home and spent, let us hope, a merry Christmas round the domestic hearth.

1888 opened with the declaration by the Board of a profit of £11,736, and a bonus of 2½ in the pound, and an apparent decrease of sales, for which they accounted by the half-year being a week shorter than usual. The debt of the Society was still being slowly reduced, but the withdrawal value of shares could not be raised above 16/- for that year. There were some complaints at the annual meeting—as indeed there generally are at many annual meetings of most societies—that the balance sheet was not clear enough, which led the Board to pass a resolution that one of the hypercritical members should be written to “with respect to a statement made by him at the annual meeting complaining of the balance sheet being made in a slipshod manner, and that he be requested either to prove the statement or apologise.” Whether this member offered proof or apology cannot be traced in the minutes, but as he appears to have been several times written to without result, the Board may have got tired of pursuing him, and have given their attention to more remunerative business. They next decided to build a new branch and a block of back-to-back scullery houses in Pellon Lane, and

instructed Messrs. Jackson and Fox to prepare plans for the same. After which, they wrote to the chief constable, complaining of the conduct of the school boys connected with the evening classes at Akroyd Place School, whose noisy conduct caused great annoyance to the servants and customers of the Society, as boys not infrequently do. And there is nothing more in the proceedings of this year, either in the records of the meetings of the Board or of the monthly meetings of the Society that need be mentioned, except a resolution of the Board on December 13th "that the withdrawable value of the old share capital be raised from 16/- to 17 - in the pound for the year 1889," which was one step nearer to the desired end.

In 1889 the directors came up smiling with their report, which pointed out that the bad debts of the Society had been reduced by £9,564 in the half-year, and now stood at £47,820: that the sales were precisely equal to those of the corresponding half-year of 1888, namely, £111,414: that the profits available for distribution amounted to £12,209, allowing a bonus of 2½ in the pound, and leaving a balance of £354: and that the withdrawable value of shares would be raised to 17/- . The annual meeting passed the balance sheet, granted the usual sums to the directors, auditors, secretaries, &c., and the usual penny per member to the Central Co-operative Board, and after thanking the president, Mr. Jas. Haigh, for taking the chair, separated in a state of tolerable contentment. And then the Board set about their ordinary business of buying land, building houses, raising the price of bacon, and lowering the price of stockings and ties, making alterations and improvements in the stores and branches, discharging servants, raising wages, taking stock, giving orders, paying accounts, appointing delegates, and generally attending to the thousand and one duties their office entailed.

Amongst other things, they decided "that our shares in the Co-operative Wholesale be increased from 806 to 822, the number we are required to have, being one to every ten members of our Society. They also remonstrated with the Assessment Committee of the Corporation respecting the advance in the assessment of the Central stores: and with Lord Salisbury, and the Borough and County Members of Parliament, about the objectionable Sugar Bounties Bill, then before the House of Commons. A little later they appointed the whole Board a committee "to inquire into the question of paying wages for holidays and overtime, and report to a future meeting of the Board." It may be that the directors as a committee did not see the necessity of reporting to themselves as a Board, but certainly no report



BAKERY (Back View).

appears to have been made, nor was any action taken in the matter.

They then decided to advise the members to subscribe through the Society to the Halifax New Infirmary Fund, and got out subscription books for that purpose. The Board even proposed at the half-yearly meeting "that a donation of £100 be granted towards the fund for the proposed New Infirmary" on the motion of Mr. R. Boocock, seconded by Mr. John Shillito; but after some discussion the meeting decided "that the question of subscribing to the building fund of the New Infirmary be not entertained," and passed on to the next business. They also decided "that the secretary write the following societies, Huddersfield, Manchester, Pendleton, Leeds, Dewsbury, and Cleckheaton, asking for information respecting the cost and working of the system of carrying out goods." These enquiries do not appear to have been entirely satisfactory, however, as they finally decided in December "that this Board, after careful consideration, cannot see its way to extend the present system of carrying out goods, but we wish to remind our members that for a considerable time we have carried out all wholesale orders." As no other subject seems to call for inclusion in the year's proceedings there is no reason why we should not pass on to the last year of this fourth period of the history.

The year 1890, the last of the period, requires a little more attention, as at least one important step was taken which must be referred to at some length, and that was the decision to have the Society's property re-valued. This will be mentioned in its proper place, but must not take precedence of the directors' annual report. Of this document it need only be said that it showed a disposable balance of £13,080, allowed a bonus of 2/6 in the pound, the raising of the withdrawable value from 17/- to 18 - in the pound, and the announcement of the proposed opening of a new branch at West Mount in the ensuing month. These decisions of the directors were confirmed at the annual meeting, where nothing else occurred beyond the ordinary business already too frequently mentioned in the records of previous years.

In April the directors decided to appoint a committee to revise the rules, in accordance with a decision of the monthly meeting, the committee to consist of three members of the Board and three ordinary members. The president, with Messrs. John Darrell and James Parker, were appointed by the Board, and Messrs. Dixon Lamb, John Shillito, and John Dickenson, by the meeting, with orders to get at once to business. Then, passing over much routine business, we come to another re-arrangement

of the branch store-keepers' terms of service, which were as follows, "On and after July 1st, 1890, all branch storekeepers are to commence paying for the gas burned in their houses. The Society to allow them sixpence per week for that purpose, and the difference between the amount burned will be charged them or paid them, as the case may be." It was also decided "That the rate of wages paid to our branch store-keepers be as follows: for weekly takings of £50 and under, one guinea per week, and the commission from £50 up to £80 to be advanced from 8d. to 1/- for each £5 taken. The advance to be paid on Monday, August 25th." So that from that date the wages of the store-keepers would range from 21/- to 29/- per week, and house rent; which, though it may compare favourably with the ordinary shopman's wages, could not be called munificent, for the work, responsibility, and integrity required of those who filled posts of such importance to the welfare of the Society. It should, however, be mentioned that other advantages have since been granted to the store-keepers: the commission increased by five per cent.: and also commissions of the same amount on the sale of butchers' meat, coal orders, and other things: and that the terms of service must be assumed to be generally satisfactory from the length of time many of the store-keepers have been in the service of the Society.

Next we come to the decision previously alluded to, when, on September 11th, the directors decided "That the secretary be instructed to ascertain from Messrs Horsfall & Williams, architects, their price for revaluing our property, land and buildings." This was done, and, on the 29th, the Board decided that their terms "for revaluing our property, including a block plan for each, be accepted." To assist this revaluation, the directors applied to the secretary of the Carlton iron works—the Society's shares in which had appeared on the balance sheets at estimated values varying from £17,000 to the £7,744 given in the accounts for July, 1890—asking for what they considered would be a fair and honest value for the Carlton shares.

To this the Carlton company replied "that though the shares bring various values when pressed for sale, in the absence of a regular market, we think that if you write them down at £2 for ordinary and £4 to £5 for preference, they ought to be worth that intrinsically as representing a going concern." Mr. W. Morrison, who had invested large sums in the Carlton, wrote a less hopeful letter however, and said he had been offered shares at 7/6 and 10/- a share, and said further "I have found many thousands of pounds to help the company through its difficulties,

and should have done very much better for myself if I had let the company go to the ground many years ago, when so many other companies failed; but I still hope we may get something out of our operations."

The Society decided to accept the Carlton official's estimate however, but would have been nearer the mark in taking Mr. Morrison's, as the 1,400 ordinary shares in the Carlton are valued on the Society's balance sheet for 1900, not at £2,800, but at £10; and the preference and debentures, not at £2,520, but only at £1,452; though the sanguine are still in hopes of a speedy recovery.

Mr. Horsfall's valuation, it may be said, was a rather rosy one, for while the property valued had originally cost £42,550, he considered it then worth £42,168, or only £381 less than its total cost. This result was mainly due to his valuing—no doubt for sufficient reasons—the Central stores, which had cost £17,408, at £3,968 over its cost price. His valuation had another peculiarity, namely, that it was within £240 of the price he had valued the same property at in 1876, when the value was given at £35,795, while in 1890 it rose to £36,035, the increase again being mainly due to the increased value of the Central stores, from £18,750 on the earlier occasion, to £21,376 on the later one.

This valuation, however, made a great alteration in the financial position, for while on the balance sheet for 1890 this property was taken at £25,825, Mr. Horsfall gave it at an increased value of £16,343. For instance, while the balance sheet gave the value of horses, carts, trucks, at £366, Mr. Horsfall gave them at £2,731, which was no doubt about their real value, and shows that the depreciation annually written off by the Society, was a very liberal one. In brief, Mr. Horsfall gave the assets of the Society as being worth £69,589 15s. 1½d.; this, however, did not include stock, which, on the balance sheet for 1890, appeared as £56,500, making together, in round figures, a sum as assets of £126,000; the liabilities being given on the last balance sheet as, roundly, £121,000. From this the directors concluded the concern was again worth twenty shillings in the pound, and, even making all allowances for over valued investments, that was no doubt a safe conclusion.

Of course, such a concern as the Industrial Society, has at least, two values; that is to say, its value to the members as a running concern, and its value to them if they desired to sell it. The value of an article you desire to go on using, is higher than the value of the same article if you wish to sell it; and its sale



G. Greenwood J. T. Wood H. Hellwell H. G. Mitchell J. Standeven J. Parsons J. Rushforth
 G. Brook H. Heron C. J. Walsh F. Beecroft W. Gunns J. H. Howarth J. Whiteley J. W. Patchett

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value is also higher if you are merely willing to sell it, than if you are compelled to do so. Then again, public confidence is a valuable asset in all industrial concerns, and, as the reader will readily perceive, a concern that is not financially sound, may become so if it has the public confidence, while one that is sound as a going concern, may be ruined by loss of the confidence of its creditors and customers.

In conclusion, while apologising for these rather trite remarks, it must be born in mind that nothing but the confidence of the members in themselves and the directors, saved the Society from bankruptcy, in 1876, and that nothing but the profits on its legitimate trade had enabled it to return to a sound and solvent condition, and that while the shareholders had made the loudest lamentations over the loss of their capital, it was out of the profits of the sales and out of the pockets of the purchasing members that those losses were paid off.

It must have been with a feeling of thankfulness, not un-mixed with pride, that the directors once more saw the Society on a solid basis, and it may have been that feeling that prompted them to decide as the very last resolution, on the very last day of the year, "That we have a great tea and a great public meeting, as near next Shrove Tuesday as possible."

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIFTH PERIOD.

Date	Members.	Capital. £	Sales. £	Profit. £	Dividend.	
					1st half	2nd half.
1891 ..	8,560 ..	105,912 ..	256,326 ..	30,225 ..	2 6	2 7
1892 ..	8,900 ..	103,197 ..	272,967 ..	32,677 ..	2 8	2 7
1893 ..	8,959 ..	102,850 ..	266,725 ..	31,844 ..	2 8	2 7
1894 ..	8,970 ..	99,883 ..	246,160 ..	30,754 ..	2 6	2 7
1895 ..	9,349 ..	103,952 ..	255,356 ..	33,453 ..	2 8	2 9
1896 ..	9,966 ..	107,154 ..	286,576 ..	39,712 ..	2 10	2 10
1897 ..	10,472 ..	115,570 ..	321,627 ..	48,261 ..	3 0	3 0
1898 ..	11,170 ..	127,268 ..	344,607 ..	51,533 ..	3 0	3 0
1899 ..	11,744 ..	129,032 ..	355,443 ..	53,536 ..	3 0	3 0

COURAGE, good reader, our task is almost ended; for we have now reached the last ten years of the century, and the last period of this history. The records of the directors' meetings for this period fill five large volumes, with a total of 1,500 pages; a mass of general information as to the weekly proceedings of the Board that if, printed as they stand, three books, the size of this you are now reading, would hardly contain. Is it necessary that we should search together through those 160,000 words, in search of the few matters of general interest enbalm'd in them? Before answering that question, let us take one page—haphazard—as a sample of the bulk. Here then we open one book at page 249, and read as follows: “Directors meeting, March 2nd, 1896. 1—Mr. Parker moved and Mr. Rushworth seconded the confirmation of the minutes. 2—Mr. Thornton moved and Mr. Barker seconded, that Mr. Wood and Miss Calvert be allowed to go to Manchester, on Tuesday, 3rd, to make purchases for their departments. 3—Mr. Thornton moved and Mr. Barker seconded, that the drapery committee be allowed to advertise for an apprentice to the millinery department; apply on Monday evening next, at seven o'clock. 4—Mr. Thornton moved and Mr. Barker seconded, that we advertise the extra special sale in ‘Boro’ Advertiser,’ this week. 5—Mr. Green moved and Mr. Skelton seconded, that Queen’s Road store-keeper be allowed to remove, and that the usual amount of rent be allowed him in lieu of house. 6—Mr. Tetlaw moved and Mr. Rushworth seconded, that Messrs. E. Green, J. Thompson, and H. Tetlaw, represent this Board at the Wholesale Society’s quarterly meeting. 7—Mr. Tetlaw moved and Mr. Parker seconded, that Messrs. J. Sefton and Son be paid £50 on account of work done to ovens, at the bakery, Queen’s Road.

Signed, JAS. RILEY.”

That happens to be a shorter meeting than the average, and with less important business than was sometimes the case; but those five large well-bound books contain records of hundreds of similar meetings, at which business of no general interest was transacted. It is, of course, the duty of the directors, to carefully discuss and settle these hum-dum details; but there is no reason why they should be inflicted on the reader. And therefore, beyond the one meeting above reported, those five books shall not be so much as referred to in the few remaining pages of this history. Indeed, little more than the figures that head this chapter can be necessary, to those who are already acquainted with almost all that could be told them; and so, beyond offering a few facts to refresh the reader's memory of the principal events of the period, the rest of the details, like the balance sheet at the annual meeting, in January, 1891, shall be "taken as read."

At this meeting, the shares were at last raised to their full value, 20/- in the pound; and the redemption account was, from that day, extinguished. It was also decided, that members should be allowed to increase their holding of shares up to £50; and with that, we will pass to the "grand tea meeting and soiree," held to celebrate the passing away of the cloud that had so long hung over the Society. This tea party was so large that it had to be held in three different places, namely, in Hanover, Stannary, and Sion schoolrooms; while the meeting was held in the Drill Hall, where Mr. Jas. Haigh took the chair, and the immense gathering was addressed by several local gentlemen, including Archdeacon Brooke, T. Wayman, Esq., M.P., J. Whitely, Esq., J.P., and R. Horsfall, J.P., together with Mr. J. T. W. Mitchell, the president of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and Mr. E. V. Neale, of the Central Board, who, it will be remembered, had helped the Society in their time of trouble. The programme published for this rejoicing contains an outline of the history of the Society for the thirty years from 1860 to 1890, more particularly from 1876 onwards. From this, a few references to the losses of the Society may be given, showing that the estimated loss in 1876 was much less than it ultimately proved to be. The investments were taken, it says, "on the balance sheet for 1890, at £23,000, and thus show a deficiency of £29,000 on the valuation in 1876. In addition to this, they had entailed a loss upon the Society of £36,000 in interest. If to these amounts the ascertained loss of 1876, of £51,000, and sundry undivided balances be added, there will be a gross total of £125,500, which, with the reduction of £24,000 on withdrawals, leaves a balance of £101,500, which represents the loss sustained by the

STOREKEEPERS:

G. Mumms. C. L. Boughton. J. Lockwood. R. H. Mitchell. A. Crowther.



J. Hellwell. A. Patchett. A. Haigh. H. Woodhead. W. Pearson. L. Clegg. H. Brearley.
A. Fielding. H. Webster. W. Webster. G. Parker.

Society." But all is well that ends well; and at this meeting the slate was wiped clean, and has so far remained so, with every prospect of continued soundness.

The rules of the Society were again revised in this year, several special meetings being held for that purpose, and the result finally adopted at the monthly meeting in September. This, it may be mentioned, was the latest revision of the rules; another attempt, made a few years later, being dropped, with the approval of another general meeting.

About this time it was decided that an annual treat should be given to the employees. This was altered some years later into an annual excursion, and ultimately developed into the grant of a week's holiday with full pay for all employees of the Society, together with a decision to pay for all overtime worked—except by managers, who were, for some reason, omitted from this change.

The annual meeting, in January, 1892, was made memorable by the retirement of Mr. Jas. Haigh from the presidency, which he had occupied from January, 1884, a period of eight years. He was replaced by Mr. James Parker, who, however, only held the office for three years; such being the amended rule of the Society. In this year the directors announced in their report, that the opening of the new and extensive stores, at Elland, had almost doubled the takings of the branch. They also decided to reduce the business hours at their stores from 57½ to 56 per week; and requested the members to make their purchases as early as possible. Then the members decided, at the monthly meeting, in March, that the amount of share capital a member might hold should be raised from £50 to £100, as the resolution puts it—"for the purpose of reducing the capital of non-purchasing members." How this desirable end was to be accomplished by such means, the resolution leaves in doubt. At any rate the end appears to have been achieved, as the capital fell for a while, though it has since risen again.

A new scale of payment, for delegates attending to business on the Society's behalf, was drawn up, by which members being appointed to transact business for the Society were to receive, in pay and expenses, some 9/- a day, and third-class railway fares; which could hardly be called extravagant. A new Branch, in Parkinson Lane, was opened in November; and, as the directors said in their next report, "There are yet three houses, recently built, adjoining this branch, which your directors would be glad to let or sell."

This report brings us to the annual meeting for 1893, for important details of which the reader is referred to the figures at the head of the chapter. A resolution of sympathy was passed "with the widow and family of the late Thomas Shaw, Esq., M.P.," who had been, in many ways, a friend and well-wisher of the Society. At the half-yearly meeting, this year, the members fell a prey to an unwonted attack of generosity, and, not only voted £50 to the building fund of the New Halifax Infirmary, but also another £50 to the Thornhill colliery disaster relief fund. They also decided, at the close of the year, that the forty-fourth rule, "dealing with instruction and recreation," should be put into force; but did nothing else that need detain us, except, perhaps, the expressions of the gratification of the directors that the new branch, at Parkinson Lane, was making very satisfactory progress, the sales for the half-year amounting to £2,805. In this year too, the fire policies of the Society were all allowed to lapse, the Board deciding to establish their own insurance fund, which they have ever since maintained.

1894 saw the instruction and recreation department getting into operation, with a grant of £20 from the Society for their first half-year. The directors had to regret, in their report, that the business did not show the continued progress of the years preceding it, which they attributed to the general depression in trade and "the unfortunate crisis in the coal trade," which was a very mild way of alluding to a dispute and a danger that almost stirred the country to serious thought.

The sales for the year had fallen off some £6,000, which brought the bonus down to half-a-crown. In the report to the half-yearly meeting, the Board had to admit a further drop of £11,390 on the sales, when compared with the corresponding half-year, which, they said, was partly owing to the low price of commodities, that again was, they said, an advantage to purchasers. The bonus was risen a penny, however. The report also announced that the recreation and instruction committee intended "to hold teas, entertainments, and social gatherings, in the neighbourhood of about twenty of their stores; and that a branch of the Woman's Co-operative Guild had been formed, which lady members, or the wives of members, were invited to join.

Mr. Parker retired from the presidency, at the annual meeting in 1895, and was replaced by Mr. James Riley. The sales again showed a decrease of some £9,000; but the profits were large enough to allow a bonus of 2s 8d in the pound, and leave a balance of £267 to the next account. In this year, as the tenancy of the farm at High Sunderland was expiring, the

directors transferred their "slaughtering business" to the premises they had built at North Dean, at a cost, for buildings and land, of about £4,000: and shortly after, the Society's long connection with the old hall of the Sunderland's came to an end. At this annual meeting, a sum of £10 was granted towards the Co-operative Congress expenses; and in February, a sum of £20 towards the relief of the distress, caused by bad trade, amongst the members of the Society, the distribution being left to the Board. They also passed a resolution at the monthly meeting, in May, which recalls the old proverb that "the burnt child dreads the fire." This was a resolution instructing their representatives to the Wholesale Society, to vote against a proposal of that Society to allow the committee of management to buy and sell "approved securities" to the extent of £500,000 in the interests of the members.

In July of this year the bonus rose to 2/9, which, as the report said, was "the highest rate of interest ever declared by the Society." During the half-year the instruction and recreation committee had been busy, having had several tea meetings, as well as out-door meetings in May and June; the Society also holding "an out-door fete" at North Dean, to celebrate the opening of that necessary, but unpoetical institution—the new slaughterhouse.

At the annual meeting in 1896 the sum of £50 was granted to the instruction committee, being an advance of £10 on their previous income. The bonus was again 2/9, and rose, at the July half-yearly meeting, another penny; the business having increased very materially during the half-year, the profit being £18,646, the highest, so far, ever realised by the Society. The report also announced an alteration of the weekly half-holiday, from Wednesday to Thursday afternoons, to fall in with the general holiday of the shopkeepers of the town. The Culver Street stables were also re-modelled and enlarged, and are amongst the best fitted and most convenient in the district.

The members decided at the monthly meeting in August, that the Board should be empowered to give a treat, through the Halifax Cinderella Club, to one thousand poor children, which was duly carried out. A curious proposal was made about this time by the Illingworth Co-operative Society, which amounted to a proposal that the two societies should amalgamate! As the Illingworth idea of amalgamation appears to have been that the gnat should swallow the camel, the proposal was not acceded to, and the societies are still independent.

BRANCH
STOREKEEPERS:

L. Greenwood. J. Orr. F. Smithies. H. Heys. E. Williams.
D. Roberts. M. Eccles.



F. Ambler. R. Boocock. E. Greenwood. J. Farrar. J. E. Dennis. J. Iredale.
O Greenwood. J. E. Crossley. W. Timewell. E. Greenwood.

The instruction committee had again been fairly busy with tea meetings, and a lecture on "Co-operative Ideals," by Mr. H. Vivian, and were hoping that some of their out-door meetings might also be favoured by the weather. Even the Mayor and Mayoress attended one of these meetings, "and showed," as the report puts it, "their practical sympathy by delivering splendid addresses, urging working people to bind themselves together for the uplifting of their class." As anything further would be an anticlimax after the eloquence of the Mayor and Mayoress, of this year the rest shall be silence.

1897. The sales were again the largest on record, and the bonus was 2/10 in the pound. The directors had purchased several plots of land on the Newstead estate, in Gibbet Lane, intending to erect a new branch and a number of dwellinghouses, for which plans would soon be ready for the inspection of the members. This year, £75 was granted to the instruction and recreation committee; and a grant of £30 was also voted to the fund being raised by the Mayor, for the relief of the sufferers by one of the Indian famines we have so exceedingly often. The members were in a more than usually generous mood this year, for at the July half-yearly meeting, they granted £100, as a Jubilee gift, to the Royal Halifax Infirmary, and one hundred shillings to the Technical School. Not satisfied, even then, they raised their annual Infirmary subscription from £10 to £25, and added to that, a subscription of £5 to the Halifax Eye and Ear Hospital. Such, perhaps, were some of the good effects of the 3/- bonus. The instruction and recreation committee made another bold bid for popularity, the first half of their duties coming more to the front, as exemplified in addresses on co-operation, by the president, directors, and other gentlemen, which, the committee slyly surmised, were "almost certain to have beneficial results." The Society had also invested £5,000 of its growing capital, in the Halifax and Sowerby Bridge flour societies; and that is all that needs notice for the year, except that collections in aid of the locked-out engineers were made at the Central and branches, by which about £2 a week were gathered while the strike lasted.

1898 saw the capital, the trade, and the profits, steadily rising, and the directors were again able to declare a bonus of 3/-. Mr. James Riley's period as president had now expired, and his place was taken by Mr. Edmund Wood, who retained that honourable office until the end of this history, and will do so, if providence sees fit, until the beginning of the twentieth century. The annual meeting declared a bonus of 3/- in the pound; raised

the pay of branch secretaries from 15 - to £1; granted £100 to the recreation committee; and the thanks of the meeting to the retiring president, for his three years' labour in their service.

At the February monthly meeting, a grant of £40 was voted for the relief of the distress in the West of Ireland. Then the new branch at Mayfield was opened for business, in March—it might have been more appropriately opened in May—and the Newstead branch in April. The recreation committee arranged to take part in a course of six lectures, on "English Social Reformers," in connection with the Oxford extension scheme; the social reformers chosen being Sir Thomas More, John Wesley, William Wilberforce, Thomas Carlyle, Kingsley and the Christian Socialists, and John Ruskin. These lectures were given in the Technical School, with what result we will not be inquisitive enough to guess. The land purchased by the Society, at Woodside, was also handed over to the building committee, for the erection of a store and houses, and nothing more remains to be said.

In 1899 there was one resolution passed at the annual meeting, which indicates, to reader and writer alike, that we are nearing the end of our journey. It was a resolution that a bonus of 3/- in the pound should be paid, and that of the balance of £177, a sum of £100 should be placed to a special fund to be used for celebrating the jubilee of the Society in 1901! There were, as usual, grants of £85 to the instruction and recreation committee, and of £15 to the women's guild. The directors also had pleasure in reporting that the sales had increased by £22,980 over the previous year, and that there was an available profit of £25,000, which would allow a bonus of 3/-. They also announced that they had acquired considerable property adjoining the Central Stores, with a view to the large extensions the increasing business demanded.

There is little else of interest to the general reader in the work of this half-year, although, of course, the Board were always busy, and the monthly meetings were held as usual. In case this statement should be considered unconvincing, a sample of the monthly meetings shall be given, and shall be selected at random, as in the case of the Board meeting given earlier in this chapter. "General monthly meeting, Feb. 25th, 1899, the president, Mr. Edmund Wood, in the chair. 1—Mr. Rushworth moved and Mr. Thorpe seconded, that the minutes of the last monthly meeting be confirmed. 2—Mr. Shillito moved and Mr. Shaw seconded, that the building committee's report for the last six months be accepted. 3—Mr. S. Shaw moved and Mr. Thorpe

seconded, that the instruction and recreation committee's report for last six months be accepted. 4—Mr. Shaw moved and Mr. J. T. Taylor seconded, that Messrs. Jas. Crowther, R. T. Rushworth, W. H. Walsh, J. Noble, Mrs. Lovell, and Mrs. Manger, be appointed delegates to attend the Wholesale Society's divisional meeting at Cleckheaton. 5—Mr. Dale moved and Mr. A. Thornton seconded, that Messrs. Jas. Ogden, J. E. Firth, and W. Shillito, be appointed delegates to attend the Wholesale Society's meeting at Manchester. 6—Mr. Lumb moved and Mr. Jas. Crowther seconded, that we nominate a candidate to represent the West Calderdale electoral district of the Co-operative Union, Limited. 7—Mr. Jas. Crowther moved and Mr. J. T. Taylor seconded, that Mr. Dixon Lumb be our nominee as per the last resolution. 8—Mr. W. Thompson moved and Mr. J. T. Taylor seconded, that the delegates' reports be adjourned till next monthly meeting, to be read the first business after the minutes.

Signed, EDMUND WOOD."

In the expectation that this sample report of the necessary and important, but not particularly interesting, business of these meetings will prove sufficient, we will pass on to the directors' report of the half-yearly meeting in July. In this report the directors jubilantly state "that the business done, and profits made, are the highest in the Society's history." That the disposable profits amount to £26,819, which allowed a bonus of 3/- in the pound, leaving a balance of £202, of which they recommended that £100 should be placed to the jubilee celebration fund. Further that they were proceeding with the branch and houses at Woodside, and also with a new branch and twelve houses at Pye Nest. The members seemed satisfied, and with good reason, and decided, at the same meeting, to make a donation of £10 to the Halifax branch of the society for the protection of children. Then, at the monthly meeting in October, they decided "that the Board be authorised to entertain the delegates of the West Yorkshire Co-operative educational association," on their visit to Halifax to hold a conference. And also, at the November meeting, that their delegates to the Wholesale Society's meeting "be instructed to vote that £2,000 be granted from the reserve fund, for the relief of the wives, widows, and children of the soldiers maimed or killed in the South African war." And with that we come to the last year of the period, and of this history.

1900—and our task is almost ended, for beyond the ninety-ninth report and balance sheet, for the half-year ending June 23rd, it is impossible to go. It should be extremely gratifying to all concerned that this history closes with the Society in the most

BRANCH MANAGERS

T. Greenwood.

J. Miner.

W. H. Lord

BOOT & SHOE DEPT.



J. Shaw.

J. Walmsley.

J. Bates.

prosperous circumstances it has ever known. The sales, profits, and membership, as given in the January report of the directors, have never been exceeded in the history of the Society, except by the report that followed it in July, which is the latest available for inclusion here. These highly gratifying reports, it will be best at once to consider. In that presented to the annual meeting in January, the directors point out that the sales for the half-year have realised £179,468, an increase over the corresponding half-year of £9,200! That the available profits for distribution amount to £26,647, which allowed a bonus of 3/- in the pound, leaving a balance of £478. Of this balance the directors advised that £100 should be added to the jubilee fund, and £50 given to the local relief fund for the families of the soldiers in South Africa: both recommendations being adopted by the meeting. The ordinary monthly meetings were of the routine order, but a special one was held in May, to consider a proposal from the workers' municipal election committee, that the Society should join that body in the endeavour to get working men representatives elected on the Borough Council, and other public bodies. But this proposal, after careful consideration, the meeting decided not to accept. There is nothing more to consider until we arrive at the ninety-ninth half-yearly report, which closes the list. The sales are the highest, the profits are the largest, and the membership is the highest the Society has ever known. The share capital is also creeping up steadily, though still about one hundred thousand below its over-inflated condition of some twenty-five years earlier. As the figures for this half-year are given at the head of this chapter, there is no need to repeat them, and we may at once consider the remaining items of the directors' report. In this they mention that they have disposed of part of the shares in Henry Briggs, Son & Co., held by the Society, for £6,509, leaving a profit of £3,104. They recommended that £3,000 of this should be appropriated to extra depreciation of the Central Stores, and the balance of £104 be devoted to the jubilee fund, which was done. They also announced that for the convenience of members who wished to realise their checks before the ordinary distribution of profits, they were prepared to accept them, at any time, at sixpence less in the pound than the bonus paid in the previous half-year. And finally they said "We regret that we are about to lose the services of Mr. Leonard Storey, treasurer and cashier during the period of 39 years, and we recommend that a fund be raised to provide a suitable testimonial for the long and faithful service he has rendered to the Society." This recommendation was

adopted, and the last item of this history which can be here reported, is the presentation of this testimonial at the West Ward liberal club, on Tuesday, November the 13th.

At this social and sociable gathering Mr. Joseph Thorpe, an old director of the Society in its most stormy period, took the chair, supported by the guest of the evening, Mrs. Storey, and Mr. Walter Storey, Mr. Edmund Wood, president of the Society, and many other gentlemen. The presentation was made by Mr. Wood, in a pleasant and complimentary speech, in which he spoke very kindly of Mr. Leonard Storey's long term of service, mentioned the oft-expressed desire of the Board that Mr. Storey should have less work and more leisure, and that they would willingly supply all the help he could ask for, and spoke in generous words of Mr. Storey's devotion in the time of trouble, and of his willing sacrifice of £100 a year from his salary until that trouble was surmounted. He then presented a handsome silver dessert service to Mrs. Storey, and the counterfeit presentment—done in oils—of her husband to Mr. Storey.

Then Mr. A. B. Carter, the secretary to the Society, presented the portraits of the members of the staff, suitably framed, and with allusions to the good feeling that had always existed between Mr. Storey and those who worked with him; and then Mr. Storey rose, amid loud and continued cheering, to reply.

He assured his hearers he was much affected by the kind manner in which the President had referred to him, and could assure them that the contemplation of their magnificent presents would afford him much pleasure in the future.

There were toasts, music, and light refreshments, speeches by Mr. Walter Storey, Mr. John Shillito, J.P., Mr. T. Illingworth, the genial manager, and, amid gaiety, harmony, and general congratulations, the agreeable re-union and this history came to an end together.



CHAPTER XII.

THE CENTRAL STORES AND OTHER MATTERS.

A FEW more pages, and the curtain falls upon the last scene of all, that ends this strange eventful history, for, in sober truth, a strange and eventful history it has been. Strange, that from such small beginnings; from the scanty savings of a few poor men and women; from the toilsome, often mistaken, but always persistent, industry of those who had lost hope in everything but their own exertions; such great results should spring. Eventful, for the tide of prosperity has ebbed and flowed; good and bad fortune have come in turns, dangerous successes and almost dire disasters have been met with sturdy Yorkshire commonsense and homely philosophy; and with all, and through all, the spirit that animated the pioneers of the movement has survived, and, at the end of fifty years, the prosperity of the Society is higher than it has ever been.

This result owes nothing to chance, or to the aid of Governments, to the condescending patronage or benevolence of lords or gentlemen; to the powerful assistance of millionaire financiers or commercial magnates, national or local; but to the savings of ordinary working people; and to the mental power and incessant attention of the men they have selected from their own ranks, to attend to their interests. This is a great achievement, and should convince the co-operators that it is safer and more profitable to trust in their own exertions, than in the specious promises of plausible politicians; and to remember, in all other things as in this, that union is strength, and that they who want a thing well doing, must do it themselves.

Hard work is the secret of success in this case. The orderly, intelligent, and constant attention of the servants of the Society, from the genial manager, the heads of the departments, and the branch managers, through all ranks, right down to the smallest boy in the check office; and to the careful and never ceasing supervision of the president and the Board of directors.

There are members who believe that their directors fill merely ornamental and dignified positions, and get paid for doing nothing. A very little knowledge of the working of the Society, and the duties of the directors, would soon undeceive them.



STABLES (inside).

Such members do not realise the cautious thought, the careful study of details, the work of the Society imposes on the men who do it; or of the responsibility they bear, and the anxious deliberation over important decisions such responsibility entails.

Of course directors are but human, and are prone to err; and may make again, as they have made, mistakes in judgment, like the rest of us. But this may be confidently said; that unless the directors generally are, as they have been, not only honest and willing, but capable, cautious, and industrious, in the interests of the members who appointed them; the Society, deservedly prosperous as it is to-day, would fall to pieces like a house of cards before the twentieth century was out of leading strings. These remarks are not mere compliments, but the sober conviction of one who is not in the habit of paying compliments, and who, having had opportunities of studying the work and methods of the directors, and claiming to be a careful observer, is expressing his opinion honestly, for the benefit of his readers.

But come, the space is now very limited, and there is a great deal yet to do. Let us take a stroll through the Central stores, and see, so far as a mere glance can see it, what the "Co-op." really is, as it stands visibly before the eyes of the people of Halifax. As more than one view of the buildings will be found in these pages, it is only necessary to say that the Central stores are a handsome and substantial block of buildings, and have cost, with the houses, land and warehouse behind them, covering the whole block as far back as Culver Street, the sum of £23,400. The present stores, large as they are, can hardly cope with the work they have to do, and it is divulging no secret to mention that they are to be considerably extended early in the new century.

If the reader will turn to the picture of the Central stores, page 21, he or she will be looking straight into the entrance to the drapery department. Going up the street to the left, you come to the boot and shoe department, the jewellery, the ironmongery, the crockery shop, the furniture department, and the provision store. Returning to the corner, and following the coal carts, you come to the grocery department, presided over by Mr. Starkey Wilson, the oldest servant of the Society, with forty years' service; next, to the hosiery department at the corner; going round which, you pass respectively, the warehouse and loading stages, the large butcher's shop, the fruit and fish store, the coal office, the clogger's shop, and the confectioner's shop and cafe, the Board room being over the last mentioned; and those beyond the fish shop being in converted dwellinghouses.

Inside the stores you will see—well it would be easier to detail what you will *not* see. Having been all round the place, and got into a state of wild confusion, there seems nothing for it but to put in the rough notes made after one visit, as there is not now time to make another inspection; and to trust that the reader will make allowances for unavoidable shortcomings.

Nov. 9th, 1900. Have been over Co-operative stores. Was taken round by the sub-manager, Mr. Houseman, and the warehouseman, Mr. George Greenwood, who proves to be an old schoolfellow. Went over the warehouse first, which seems to extend miles into the bowels of the earth, and is full of cheese, butter, flour, soap, tinned goods, tobacco, pots and pans, sugar, apples, hardware, treacle, and peggy tubs. There were other things which I can't remember. Here also I was introduced to the steam engine, "Perseverance," which, with its boiler, is embedded in the very middle of the basement, in a capital place for an effective explosion, and seems to be only *just* able to do the work expected of it. Also saw the dynamo which runs the 230 electric lights in the stores. Was told they used to store Irish butter to last the whole season, but now get it weekly from Denmark. Don't remember how much butter is now sold a week, but know they sell over six hundredweight of tobacco in that time. Also some 20 tons of sugar, done up in seven pound calico bags, made by machinery on the premises. Next saw the sausage making department—somewhere underground—where they turn out about 500 pounds of sausages in two hours, every Friday morning, by machinery. Was next introduced to the currant cleaning machine, which turns out some forty tons of fruit at Christmas time, and about three tons every week. There also seemed to be stacks of cheese, and hams by the million; twelve tons of cheese being needed for Christmas week alone. Didn't see a coal mine down there, but expect they have one somewhere on the premises.

When we came to the surface, we kept going up stairs and along passages and down stairs, and went all over every department, without ever going outside, and without ever knowing where we were. At least without me knowing; the place being like a rabbit warren, and every inch economised. Went through the dressmaking department where I met another old friend, and saw some two score ladies all busy; through the tailoring show-room, one of the newest and most spacious in the establishment, and into the tailors' workshop, somewhere up in the thirteenth or fourteenth storey, which, owing to the gas and the hot irons, was a little sultry. They do a large trade in ready-made clothes

here, which are cut out by an able-bodied cutter, who hews out about a dozen pairs of trousers at once, with a few slashes of a carving knife; these are then sewn together by young women, and machinery, while you wait. It is an interesting department, but a trifle warm.

Then there is the shoemakers' shop, also somewhere on the upper stories; a good deal of heat here also, and some hammering, the old fashioned workmen sitting, the new fashioned, standing at their work. Somewhere below these there are other industries, the general office, the kitchen where the workpeople cook the meals they sometimes bring with them, and where a young lady was then frying fish. We also sampled the cloggers' workshop, which is in what was the bedroom of a private house. There was a very fat clogger here, who said it was all done on "Co-op." provisions. He is a fine advertisement. Can't remember any more now, must go round again and take more notice.

That, though a slightly confused description, is the best that can be offered now, another visit being impossible on account of time. It may be said generally that the various shops are light, airy, convenient, clean, and tidy; the goods as well and temptingly displayed as at any place of business in the town; and the goods are, in all departments, of as high quality as can be obtained, cheap and nasty not being the co-operative ideal. The whole establishment is made the most of, by all departments; but it is obvious that the business is rather hampered for room, and will be more airy, more convenient, and less exposed to the risks of fire, when more accommodation is provided.

In addition to the Central stores there are the Society's stables in Culver Street; the slaughtering department at North Dean; the large bakery in Queen's road; the thirty-four branches which, with the exception of Hopwood Lane, Range Bank, and Trooper Lane, are all the property of the Society, and of which a list will be given; and the building department, which has already built over three hundred houses for the members of the Society. First the stables, which were rebuilt at a cost of £3,800 exclusive of the land, and re-opened by the president, Mr. James Riley, in 1897. They are probably the most modern and most convenient stables in the town, having all the latest improvements, and are certainly tenanted by some of the finest draught horses in the country. They have stalls for 34 horses, two hospitals, coach house and harness room on the ground floor; and large hay lofts, with gas engine and a joiner's shop above them; also a house for the horse-keeper, Mr. George Brooks.



B. 2003 J.

SLAUGHTERHOUSE.

The buildings enclose a large glass-covered court yard, and are, in every way, a credit to the Society.

Of the North Dean estate the present writer is unable to speak, never having had an opportunity of seeing it; but the property cost, as it stands, over £1,000, and is, in every respect, said to be suitable for its purpose. It may be mentioned that when the Corporation bought adjoining land, for sewage works, in that neighbourhood, the Society protested, and opposed the Corporation's Bill in 1900, and were successful in getting an undertaking from the Corporation, that, if disturbed, the property should be purchased by the Corporation at its value to the Society. The bakery, which is situated at the Pellon Lane end of Queen's Road, was purchased in 1895, and with additions and alterations, new and modern ovens, and a new four-stall stable on the land adjoining, cost the Society some £2,247.

Next we come to the extensive and important operations of the building committee. As mentioned in the history, this committee was previously elected by the members, with one member appointed by the Board from their own ranks. On the revision of the rules in 1891, the building committee became a sub-committee of the Board, consisting of seven of its members. Since 1873, when the committee was first established, it has erected between three and four hundred dwellinghouses, in addition to the greater part of its branches. Of these houses, just over three hundred have already been sold to the members, at an aggregate price of over £62,000. The department has also advanced over £30,000 on houses not built by the Society. That, in brief, is the committee's work, and it will be evident that here also there has been care and attention, for which the Board should have credit; as the erection of good houses, in suitable situations, at reasonable prices; houses that satisfy purchasers, and also return a profit to the investors; can't be brought into existence by going to sleep round a table, or by smiling on the members at a monthly meeting.

There still remains to be mentioned the instruction and recreation committee and the women's co-operative guild, of which a branch has been in existence in Halifax for some five years. Taking the latter organisation first, then, the women's guild may be briefly described as a mutual improvement society. The Halifax branch has only about sixty members; holds weekly meetings in the guild room, North Parade; and has an average attendance of about twenty; Mrs. E. H. Rushworth being the secretary. They have an income of £15 a year from the Society, and pay an annual subscription of sixpence each. The work is

principally educational; delegates are sent to most of the conferences held in the district, and interesting reports—together with papers and discussions on various subjects—occupy the time of the meetings. Last year two members entered the guild essay competition, and were both successful; while the late secretary, Miss J. Rushworth, gained a £10 scholarship for the summer meeting at Oxford.

The instruction and recreation committee holds an important position, as its name denotes, and does all that can be expected of it on an annual income of £85, granted by the Society. Take, for example, its proceedings for 1900. They gave a free concert in the Mechanics' Hall, in January, at a cost of £5 15s. 0d.; another in Queen's Road board school, in February, which cost £8; and another in the Mechanics' Hall in March, at a cost of over £15. A tea and concert in Ovenden in March, and a social in Warley in the same month, costing about £10; and six children's treats to various branches, in the summer, at a cost of some £40. They are also supporting the Cambridge extension lectures on "The ideals of citizenship," and intend holding a handicraft's exhibition, open to the children of all the schools, which is to be held in the Mechanics' Hall, on the 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th of March, 1901; for which extensive preparations are being made; and that is about all.

That the committee do all they can with the resources allowed them is undoubted, but are those resources sufficient for such an important department of such a wealthy Society? That question most, if not all, the foremost co-operators of the last twenty-five years would probably answer in the negative. Here indeed we discover the one weak spot in the co-operative movement. The co-operative ideal being combination, not merely for the material advantage, but also for the moral and intellectual advantage of its members; not only for the development of their bodies but also of their minds. And here, as Mr. Holyoake, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Greening, the late Tom Hughes, Sir T. Brassey, and many other friends and supporters of co-operation, have pointed out, the Halifax Society has so far fallen short of the intentions of its founders. Consider for a moment what power this Society has, and what use might be made of it. Its turnover, in forty years, has been about nine millions; it has paid over one million in bonus; its turnover for this, the last year of the century, will be not far short of half-a-million; and its profits far over fifty thousand! As Mr. Leonard Storey pointed out in the West Ward liberal club, on the night in November when the testimonial was presented to him, the amount spent at the Stores and branches

comes to nearly four pounds a year for every man, woman and child in the town, or taking them as five to the average family, twenty pounds a year from every family in Halifax !

When you come to consider the vast success of the Society, you will only be surprised that it has not been more successful. How is it that having proved so conclusively that union is strength in one direction, the members have hesitated to use the same strength in other directions ? How is it, that having combined so successfully for the attainment of profit, they hesitate to combine for the attainment of mutual pleasure and social well-being ? As Sir T. Brassey told the co-operators in the Mechanics' Hall in 1871, the provision of higher, purer, and more sociable amusements, are an essential of happiness and of lasting prosperity. "It is," he said, "a lesson many of us have yet to learn, that the time given to innocent pleasure and social enjoyment, is not wasted; and that there are other things besides fame and money, for which it is worth while to live." So far combination in these directions has been neglected. The instruction and recreation committee are not in fault, the directors are not in fault: for they carry out, with energy and ability, the orders of the members. But the members are content to depend upon chance for the gratification of their higher needs, as they once were for their lower ones; to rely upon alien institutions instead of upon their own; to engage choirs to sing at their few concerts, when they might have a far better choir of their own: and the Society could, beyond question, do as much to elevate the social conditions, as it has already done to improve the material prosperity of the people of Halifax. Nevertheless, its success is beyond dispute: and it would be ungenerous, while pointing out what it might have done, to minimise what it has succeeded in doing, or to close this history with anything less than sincere good wishes for the ever widening success and prosperity of the Halifax Industrial Society.

THE END.



Mr. J. F. CONNELL (late Check Clerk).

Presidents, Secretaries and Directors

of the Society,

From 1864 to October, 1900.

The elections being half-yearly * signifies holder of office for the first half of the year, † signifies those elected for the second half. The records for the first eleven years, being imperfect, have been omitted.

JOSEPH GREENWOOD, President. DAVID WADSWORTH, Vice-President.

1864	Joseph Bairstow, Secretary.		
T. Leach	G. Dawson	J. Lawson	†L. Beaumont
W. Smith	W. Wadsworth	*J. Helliwell	†J. Wolfenden
J. Tetlaw	*W. Rushworth	*J. Beaumont	†E. Thomas
J. Earnshaw	H. Sunderland	†Joseph Kaye	†J. Whiteley
B. Wilson	*J. Smith		

JOSEPH GREENWOOD, President.

1865 *D. WADSWORTH and †T. LEACH, Vice-Presidents.

J. Bairstow, Secretary.

B. Wilson	J. Sutcliffe	*J. Kaye	†W. Thompson
*T. Leach	*E. Thomas	*L. Beaumont	†A. Potterton
*J. Wolfenden	S. Baxendale	*H. Sutcliffe	†J. Nicholl
W. Fletcher	I. Craven	*W. Gaukroger	†R. Greenwood
S. Hartley	J. Heginbottom	†G. Walton	†E. Womersley

J. GREENWOOD, President.

1866 *T. LEACH and †W. THOMPSON, Vice-Presidents.

J. Bairstow, Secretary.

B. Wilson	J. Tetlaw	J. Nicholl	J. Sutcliffe
W. Fletcher	*G. Walton	*A. Potterton	†G. Webber
*W. Thompson	J. W. Hoyle	I. Craven	†S. Baxendale
R. Greenwood	John Greenwood	J. Heginbottom	†J. Pickles

J. GREENWOOD, President.

1867 *W. THOMPSON and †H. BIRLEY, Vice-Presidents.

*J. Bairstow and †S. Baxendale, Secretaries.

J. Sutcliffe	*S. Baxendale	S. Helliwell	†J. Wilson
J. Heginbottom	J. W. Hoyle	R. Greenwood	†S. Rushworth
W. H. Ingham	*J. Pickles	W. Fletcher	†J. Standeven
*J. Nicholl	G. Webber	John Helliwell	†J. Uttley
T. Leach	*H. Birley		

J. GREENWOOD, President.

1868 *R. GREENWOOD and †J. SLATER, Vice-Presidents.

S. Baxendale, Secretary.

J. Helliwell	*J. Slater	J. Thompson	†G. Bentley
W. Fletcher	*T. Leach	*J. Standeven	†R. Greenwood
*H. Birley	*J. W. Hoyle	J. Heginbottom	†W. H. Jackson
J. Wilson	*S. Rushworth	S. Hebblethwaite	†J. Nicholl
*J. Uttley	J. Cockroft	J. Jowett	

- JOE WHITELEY, President. J. BAIRSTOW, Vice-President.
 W. Thompson, Secretary.
- 1869**
 W. Atkin *J. Greenwood *J. Nicholl *J. Wilson
 *G. Bentley J. Helliwell J. Slater †J. Thorpe
 W. Fletcher S. Hebblethwaite J. Shillito †S. Bentley
 James Fletcher *W. H. Jackson *J. Standeven †B. Culpan
 *R. Greenwood B. Mitchell J. Thompson †J. Eastwood
- JOE WHITELEY, President. J. SHILLITO, Vice-President.
 W. Thompson, Secretary.
- 1870**
 *W. Atkin J. Crowther W. H. Jackson †S. Hanson
 *G. Bentley *J. Eastwood J. Mawson †J. Standeven
 *S. Bentley J. Fletcher *J. Wilson †H. Sutcliffe
 B. Culpan J. Heginbottom J. Thorpe †J. Sutcliffe
 D. Culpan S. Hebblethwaite
- JOE WHITELEY, President.
 *J. SHILLITO and †B. CULPAN, Vice-Presidents.
 W. Thompson, Secretary.
- 1871**
 *B. Culpan Joseph Fletcher J. Standeven G. Webber
 D. Culpan S. Hanson W. Sutcliffe †H. Firth
 T. Chadwick W. H. Jackson *H. Sutcliffe †R. Fielden
 *J. Eastwood J. Mawson J. Thorpe †B. Walshaw
 James Fletcher
- JOE WHITELEY, President. J. SHILLITO, Vice-President.
 W. Thompson, Secretary.
- 1872**
 B. Culpan H. Firth H. Jackson B. Walshaw
 T. Chadwick *J. Greenwood *J. Standeven †D. Culpan
 J. Downsborough S. Hanson H. Sutcliffe †J. Fletcher
 R. Fielden W. H. Jackson J. Thorpe
- JOE WHITELEY, President.
 *B. CULPAN and †W. H. JACKSON, Vice-Presidents.
 W. Thompson, Secretary.
- 1873**
 *D. Culpan S. Hanson H. Jackson †H. Firth
 T. Chadwick S. Hebblethwaite J. Shillito †H. Sutcliffe
 J. Downsborough W. H. Hey B. Walshaw †J. Swift
 *J. Fletcher *W. H. Jackson †R. Eccles J. Thorpe
 *R. Fielden W. H. JACKSON, President. J. SHILLITO, Vice-President.
- 1874**
 W. Thompson, Secretary.
 T. Chadwick *H. Firth H. Jackson B. Walshaw
 J. Downsborough *S. Hanson H. Sutcliffe †R. H. Mitchell
 R. Eccles W. H. Hey T. Swift †J. Sutcliffe
 R. Fielden S. Hebblethwaite J. Thorpe
- W. H. JACKSON, President.
 *J. SHILLITO and †W. H. HEY, Vice-Presidents.
 W. Thompson and S. Hebblethwaite, Secretaries.
- 1875**
 S. Dyson *W. H. Hey T. Swift †S. Shires
 J. Downsborough H. Jackson *J. Thorpe †D. Barker
 *R. Eccles R. H. Mitchell *B. Walshaw †F. Stephenson
 R. Fielden H. Sutcliffe †J. Cunningham †W. Aitkin
 H. Firth *J. Sutcliffe †S. Hanson
- W. H. JACKSON, President. W. H. HEY, Vice-President.
 S. Hebblethwaite, Secretary.
- 1876**
 D. Barker S. Dyson *H. Jackson H. Sutcliffe
 J. Child R. Fielden R. H. Mitchell J. Todd
 J. Cunningham H. Firth *T. Swift †S. Hemingway
 J. Downsborough *S. Hanson F. R. Stephenson †T. Hutchins

- W. H. JACKSON, President. T. HUTCHINS, Vice-President.
1877 D. Lumb, Secretary.
 *D. Barker S. Dyson S. Hemingway H. Sutcliffe
 J. Child J. Downsbrough R. H. Mitchell †J. Holland
 *J. Cunningham H. Firth *M. Nicholl †W. H. Middleton
 J. Dickinson H. Greenwood W. H. Oates †J. Sharp
- W. H. JACKSON, President. T. HUTCHINS, Vice-President.
1878 D. Lumb, Secretary.
 W. Cheetham R. Grice *R. H. Mitchell *H. Sutcliffe
 S. Collins J. Holland W. H. Oates †J. S. Carey
 S. Dyson S. Hemingway C. Senior †J. Kershaw
 H. Firth W. H. Middleton *J. Sharp †W. Shaw
- W. H. JACKSON, President.
1879 *T. HUTCHINS and †S. DYSON, Vice-Presidents.
 D. Lumb, Secretary.
 S. Collins *J. Holland W. H. Oates *J. Thorpe
 *S. Dyson J. Kershaw C. Senior †R. Boockock
 R. Grice W. H. Middleton J. Sharp †J. Haigh
 S. Hemingway M. Nicholl W. Shaw †J. Parker
- W. H. JACKSON, President.
1880 *S. DYSON and †W. H. OATES, Vice-Presidents.
 D. Lumb, Secretary.
 R. Boockock J. Holland *W. H. Oates W. Shaw
 S. Collins *J. Kershaw J. Parker †T. Bottomley
 J. Haigh W. H. Middleton W. Rushworth †W. Dean
 *S. Hemingway R. H. Mitchell J. Sharp †S. Dyson
- W. H. JACKSON, President. R. H. MITCHELL, Vice-President.
1881 *D. Lumb and †T. Illingworth, Secretaries.
 R. Boockock R. Fielden J. Kershaw W. Rushworth
 T. Bottomley J. Haigh W. H. Middleton W. Shaw
 S. Collins J. Holland J. Parker W. Wadsworth
 W. Dean
- W. H. JACKSON, President. JAMES HAIGH, Vice-President.
1882 T. Illingworth, Secretary.
 R. Boockock J. Holland R. H. Mitchell S. Shires
 T. Bottomley J. Kershaw J. Parker †W. H. Oates
 *W. Dean D. Lumb W. Rushworth †J. Ramsden
 R. Fielding *W. H. Middleton W. Shaw
- W. H. JACKSON, President. W. SHAW, Vice-President.
1883 T. Illingworth, Secretary.
 *R. Boockock J. Holland W. Rushworth †W. Crowther
 *T. Bottomley R. H. Mitchell S. Shires †J. Farrar
 J. Darrell W. H. Oates W. C. Womersley †J. Dewhirst
 *D. Greenwood *James Parker †J. Barker †T. Turner
 *J. Haigh J. Ramsden
- JAMES HAIGH, President. W. RUSHWORTH, Vice-President.
1884 T. Illingworth, Secretary.
 J. Barker J. Farrar *J. Ramsden W. C. Womersley
 W. Crowther J. Holland W. Shaw †S. Hebblethwaite
 J. Darrell R. H. Mitchell S. Shires †G. Lumb
 J. Dewhirst *W. H. Oates T. Turner
- 1885** JAMES HAIGH, President. J. DARRELL, Vice-President.
 T. Illingworth (resigned Sept. 17th), T. Turner (pro. tem.), A. B. Carter
 (elected Oct. 24th), Secretaries.

J. Barker	J. Holland	W. Shaw	†R. Alsop
W. Crowther	G. Lumb	T. Turner	(el'ctd. Oct. 24)
J. Dewhirst	R. H. Mitchell	J. Parker	†T. Sunderland
J. Farrar	W. H. Oates	S. Shires	(el'ctd. Oct. 24)
S. Hebblethwaite	(res. Sept. 17th)	(res. Sept. 24th)	
JAMES HAIGH, President.		J. PARKER, Vice-President.	

1886	A. B. Carter, Secretary.		
R. Alsop	J. Farrar	G. Lumb	*W. Shaw
J. Barker	*S. Hebblethwaite	(res. Jan. 28th)	T. Sunderland
W. Crowther	J. Holland	C. Pickles	†J. H. Skelton
J. Darrell	W. H. Jackson	(el'ctd Feb. 20th)	†J. Smith
J. Dewhirst	R. H. Mitchell		

JAMES HAIGH, President.

1887	*J. PARKER and †J. DEWHIRST, Vice-Presidents.		
	A. B. Carter, Secretary.		

J. Barker	J. Holland	J. H. Skelton	†J. Parker
*W. Crowther	W. H. Jackson	J. Smith	†W. Shaw
J. Darrell	R. H. Mitchell	T. Sunderland	†E. Wood
*J. Dewhirst	C. Pickles	(res. July 28th)	(el'td. Aug. 20th)
J. Farrar	J. Riley		

JAMES HAIGH, President.

1888	*J. DEWHIRST and †J. HOLLAND, Vice-Presidents.		
	A. B. Carter, Secretary.		

J. Barker	J. Parker	J. H. Skelton	E. Wood
J. Darrell	C. Pickles	J. Smith	George Dawson
*J. Holland	J. Riley	(res. Oct. 15th)	(el'td. Nov. 24th)
W. H. Jackson	W. Shaw	J. Sutcliffe	†J. Dewhirst
R. H. Mitchell			

JAMES HAIGH, President.

1889	*J. HOLLAND and †J. DARRELL, Vice-Presidents.		
	A. B. Carter, Secretary.		

J. Barker	R. H. Mitchell	W. Shaw	J. Sutcliffe
*J. Darrell	J. Parker	J. H. Skelton	(res. Sept. 9th)
G. Dawson	C. Pickles	E. Wood	J. Townsend
J. Dewhirst	J. Riley	†J. Holland	(el'td. Sep 23rd)
W. H. Jackson			

JAMES HAIGH, President. J. BARKER, Vice-President.

1890	A. B. Carter, Secretary.		
J. Darrell	W. H. Jackson	C. Pickles	J. H. Skelton
G. Dawson	R. H. Mitchell	J. Riley	J. Townsend
J. Dewhirst	J. Parker	W. Shaw	E. Wood
J. Holland			

JAMES HAIGH, President. J. RILEY, Vice-President.

1891	A. B. Carter, Secretary.		
J. Barker	J. Holland	J. Parker	J. Townsend
J. Darrell	W. H. Jackson	W. Shaw	E. Wood
*G. Dawson	R. H. Mitchell	J. H. Skelton	†E. Gaskell
J. Dewhirst	C. Pickles		

JAMES PARKER, President. W. H. JACKSON, Vice-President.

1892	A. B. Carter, Secretary.		
W. Bairstow	J. Haigh	J. Riley	†T. Clitheroe
J. Barker	J. Holland	*W. Shaw	†J. Dewhirst
J. Darrell	R. H. Mitchell	*J. H. Skelton	†E. Green
J. Farrar	*C. Pickles	H. Tetlaw	†E. Wood
*E. Gaskell			

JAMES PARKER, President. E. WOOD, Vice-President.

1893

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

J. Barker	J. Farrar	J. Holland	J. Riley
T. Clitheroe	E. Green	W. H. Jackson	J. H. Skelton
J. Darrell	J. Haigh	R. H. Mitchell	H. Tetlaw
J. Dewhirst			

JAMES PARKER, President. H. TETLAW, Vice-President.

1894

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

J. Barker	E. Green	P. Sheard	†G. Dale
*T. Clitheroe	W. H. Jackson	J. H. Skelton	†J. W. Thornton
J. Darrell	R. H. Mitchell	J. Thompson	†J. Riley
J. Dewhirst	C. Pickles	*E. Wood	(el'd Nov. 24th)
J. Farrar			

J. RILEY, President. J. H. SKELTON, Vice-President.

1895

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

J. Barker	G. Dale	E. Green	H. Tetlaw
Joseph Barker	J. Darrell	W. H. Jackson	J. Thompson
T. Calvert	J. Dewhirst	C. Pickles	J. W. Thornton
(el'd Mar. 23rd)	J. Farrar	P. Sheard	

J. RILEY, President. E. GREEN, Vice-President.

1896

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

James Barker	J. Lumb	J. H. Skelton	J. W. Thornton
T. Calvert	J. Parker	H. Tetlaw	J. Whittaker
G. Dale	W. Rushworth	J. Thompson	E. Wood
J. Darrell			

J. RILEY, President.

1897

*E. GREEN and †J. THOMPSON, Vice-Presidents.

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

James Barker	Eli Green	J. H. Skelton	J. Whittaker
T. Calvert	J. Lumb	H. Tetlaw	E. Wood
G. Dale	J. Parker	*J. W. Thornton	†Joseph Barker
J. Darrell	W. Rushworth		

EDMUND WOOD, President.

1898

*G. DALE and †J. WHITTAKER, Vice-Presidents.

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

James Barker	E. Dawson	J. Parker	J. Thompson
Joseph Barker	E. Gaukroger	J. H. Skelton	*J. Whittaker
T. Calvert	E. Green	H. Tetlaw	†W. H. Dixon
J. Darrell	J. Lumb		

EDMUND WOOD, President.

1899

*J. WHITTAKER and †JAS. BARKER, Vice-Presidents.

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

*James Barker	E. Green	†H. Ball	†J. T. Taylor
*Joseph Barker	J. Lumb	†Joseph Barker, sr.	J. Darrell
*T. Calvert	J. Parker	(el'd Aug. 26th)	(res. Aug. 25th)
J. Darrell	J. H. Skelton	†F. Baldwin	J. Parker
E. Dawson	H. Tetlaw	(el'd Sep. 23rd)	(res. Sep. 1st)
W. H. Dixon	*J. Thompson	†Jos. Barker, jr.	
E. Gaukroger	†J. Whittaker	(el'd Sep. 23rd)	

EDMUND WOOD, President. J. BARKER, Vice-President.

1900

A. B. CARTER, Secretary.

J. Whittaker	H. Tetlaw	E. Gaukroger	W. H. Dixon
J. Lumb.	J. Parker	F. Baldwin	J. T. Taylor
E. Dawson	E. Green	J. H. Skelton	Joseph Barker
H. Ball			

BRANCHES AND BRANCH MANAGERS.

No. and Name of Branch.	When opened	Name of Manager	Years service.
1 Northowram ..	February, 1860 ..	R. H. Mitchell ..	6
2 Ovenden ..	April,	J. Lockwood ..	28
3—Akroydon ..	July,	L. Pollard ..	15
4—King Cross ..	November,	A. Haigh ..	18
5—Illingworth ..	January, 1861 ..	A. Fielding ..	8
6—Siddal (old shop) ..	May,	Jas. Helliwell ..	8
7—Greetland ..	July,	W. Webster ..	10
8—Hopwood Lane ..	October,	W. Pearson ..	12
9—Prescott Street ..	January, 1862 ..	L. Clegg ..	11
10 Skircoat Green ..	April,	H. Webster ..	9
11—Elland ..	December,	H. Woodhead ..	14
12—Wheatley ..	May, 1864 ..	Geo. Munns ..	7
13—Mount Pleasant ..	January, 1865 ..	A. Patchett ..	13
14—Moor End ..	April,	A. Crowther ..	6
15—Pellon ..	May,	Geo. Parker ..	10
16—Claremount..	May,	C. E. Boughton ..	10
17—Lee Bridge ..	June, 1867 ..	H. Brearley ..	7
18—Queen's Road ..	January, 1870 ..	E. Greenwood ..	20
19—Southowram ..	November, 1871 ..	Fred Smithies ..	11
20—Cromwell Street ..	May, 1872 ..	M. Eccles ..	28
21—Salterhebble ..	May,	H. Heys ..	12
22—Hipperholme ..	March, 1873 ..	F. Ambler ..	10
23—Mixenden ..	June,	L. Greenwood ..	15
24—Range Bank ..	July, 1875 ..	John Orr ..	13
25—Savile Park..	July, 1882 ..	J. E. Crossley ..	9
26—Lee Mount ..	February, 1884 ..	D. Roberts..	17
27—Ashfield ..	March, 1885 ..	Jas. Iredale ..	16
28—Trooper Lane ..	February, 1887 ..	R. Boocock ..	15
29—West Mount ..	January, 1890 ..	Jas. A. Farrar ..	20
30—Parkinson Lane ..	November, 1892 ..	E. Greenwood ..	15
31—Mayfield ..	March, 1898 ..	O. Greenwood ..	10
32—Newstead ..	April,	J. E. Dennis ..	17
33—Woodside ..	October, 1899 ..	E. Williams ..	11
34—Pye Nest ..	June, 1900 ..	W. Timewell ..	11

MANAGERS OF BOOT & SHOE BRANCHES.

Mount Pleasant ..	..	..	..	J. Milner ..	27
King Cross ..	..	..	..	Thos. Greenwood..	26
Queen's Road ..	..	..	..	Jas. Walmsley ..	20
Siddal ..	..	..	..	W. H. Lord ..	14
Elland ..	..	..	..	J. Shaw ..	9
Ovenden ..	..	..	..	J. Bates ..	7

HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

			Years service.
Grocery	Mr. Starkey Wilson ..	40	
Office	Harry Helliwell ..	36	
Butchering	Hiram G. Mitchell ..	29	
Drapery	John T. Wood ..	29	
Coal Department ..	John Standeven ..	27	
	J. W. Patchett ..	1	
Warehouse	George Greenwood ..	24	
Check Office	*J. F. Connell ..	23	
Boot and Shoe	Jas. Rushworth ..	22	
Jewellery	Chas. J. Walsh ..	20	
Clogging	Samuel Ingham ..	19	
Farming	Walter Gunns ..	18	
Joining	George Greenwood ..	18	
Furnishing	John H. Howarth ..	16	
Coal (Pellon)	John Whiteley ..	13	
Hosiery	Frank Beecroft ..	13	
Sub-Manager	Fred Houseman ..	12	
Tailoring	Luke Farrar ..	11	
Corn and Provision ..	Sam Whitehead ..	11	
Fish and Fruit	H. Heron ..	9	
Bakery	Jas. Parsons ..	4	

*Died August 3rd, 1900.

AUDITORS OF THE SOCIETY.

1850 to 1860.

D. Crossley	S. Thompson	J. Whitehead
M. Hirst	A. Baldwin	J. Foreman
B. Walshaw	S. Holden	R. Greenwood
W. Waller		

1860 to 1870.

R. Greenwood	Job Whiteley	J. Priestley
W. Waller	B. Culpan	S. Heyhurst
J. Duckworth	H. Townsend	S. Greenwood
H. Leach	J. Norcliffe	H. Balme
J. Bairstow	W. Sutcliffe	J. Gaukroger

1870 to 1880.

J. Gaukroger	O. Webster	S. Horsfield
J. Priestley	J. Bairstow	C. Wilson
H. Balme	E. Hey	

1881 to 1886.

C. Wilson	J. Priestley	E. Hey
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1887.

C. Wilson	J. Priestley	T. Turner
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1888 to 1892.

E. Hey	J. Priestley	T. Turner
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1893 to 1896.

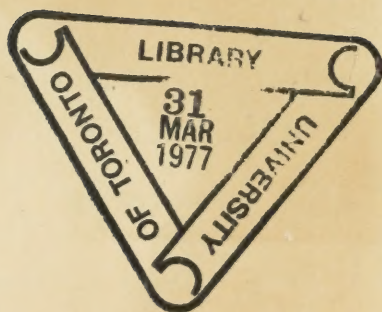
T. Turner	J. Priestley	J. H. Pickles
-----------	--------------	---------------

1897 to 1899.

T. Turner	J. H. Pickles	J. H. Walton
-----------	---------------	--------------

1899 to 1900.

J. H. Pickles	T. Turner	C. F. Spencer
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